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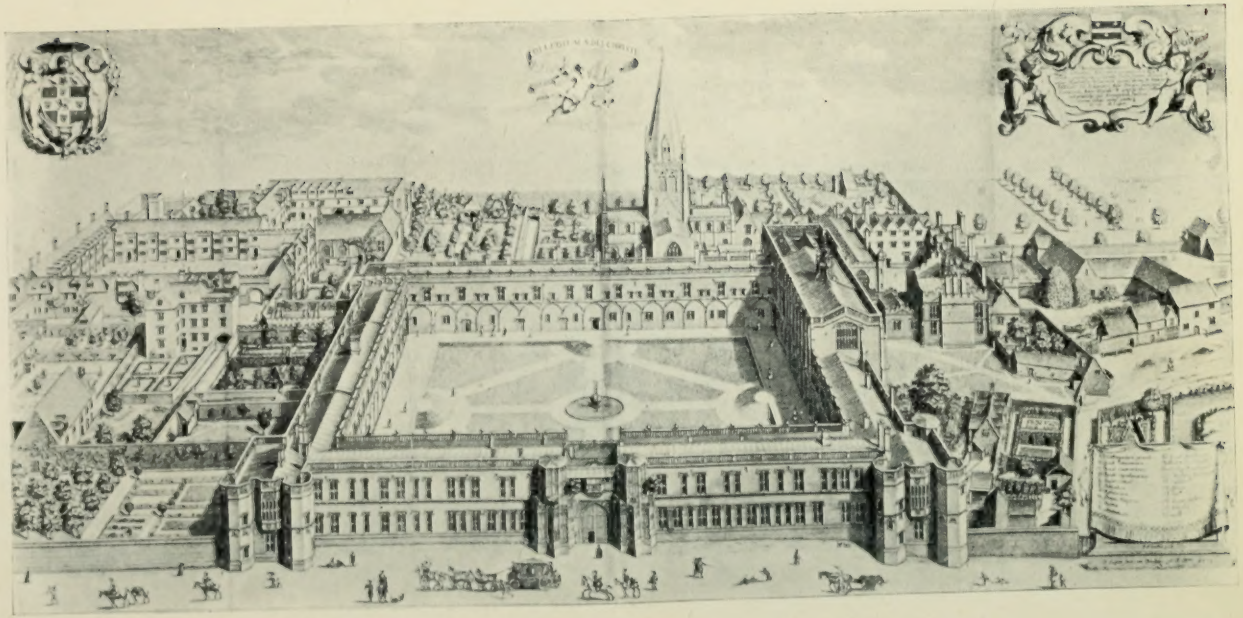

CHRIST CHURCH, FROM LOGGAN'S DRAWING, 1675

University of Oxford

COLLEGE HISTORIES

CHRIST CHURCH

BY THE

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PREFACE

If this volume is judged by its omissions, it will receive severe censure. But the writer ventures to plead that it may be accepted not as a complete History of Christ Church, but rather as a slight sketch of some of the chief matters of interest connected with its annals. To keep the work within the necessary limits, he has again and again been compelled to be unduly brief, and to omit incidents which were worth relating, or to pass by doubtful points which were worth discussing. For this reason, no attempt has been made to give an account of the many famous men who have been educated at Christ Church. It has been thought best to connect the sequence of events with the succession of its Deans, summing up from time to time the characteristics of the various periods in its life and growth. The work should therefore be regarded as a small contribution to the history of a great Foundation, which may lead to further study of its annals, and to the publication of interesting documents—such as the Chapter records—which have hitherto remained unknown. Indeed, no

history of Christ Church has ever been written, although materials for such a work are by no means lacking.

The writer has been courteously allowed to consult the Chapter Registers and Minute books. Copious extracts from them, down to the year 1713, were made by the late Dean Liddell, but they were never published. These have been freely used, and the later Chapter books have been also laid under contribution. The accepted authorities for Oxford history, such as Wood, Hearne, and others, have been constantly consulted, and Mr. C. B. Phillimore's edition of Welch's "*Alumni Westmonasterienses*"—a work of quite exceptional merit—has provided continual assistance. Information has indeed been gained from many and various sources, though it has been thought best not to cumber so small a volume with frequent references to authorities.

For the chapter on the Athletic records of Christ Church, the writer is indebted to the kindness of Mr. F. J. Haverfield, Student and Tutor of the House.

He desires to thank many other friends who have given advice and help; particularly the Rev. T. Vere Bayne, who has undertaken the troublesome task of reading the proof sheets, and Miss Acland, to whose artistic skill, as a member of the Oxford Camera Club, nine out of the ten photographic illustrations are due.

The dates are given, as a rule, according to the New Style.

In apology for the inevitable shortcomings of the book, the writer ventures, in all humility, to adopt the words in which the learned antiquarian, Mr. Browne Willis, excuses himself for the inadequacy of his account of the many great men interred in our Cathedral Church :—

"Neither can it be expected that a person so meanly qualified, who has reason to be ashamed of making no better progress in that part of his education he had the happiness to receive in this College, should attempt what would require a volume from the most able pen, to give an history of this royal and ample Foundation."

OXFORD, *April* 1900.

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DEANS OF CHRIST CHURCH

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Francis Paget, 1892

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRIST CHURCH

The existing foundation of Christ Church was created under letters patent of King Henry VIII., dated November 4, 1546, with the title of "Ecclesia Christi Cathedralis Oxon: ex fundatione Regis Henrici Octavi." The word "Cathedralis" was inserted, because the Episcopal see of Oxford, which had been erected in 1542, was now transferred from Oseney Abbey to Christ Church.

It is thus a royal foundation, and King Henry VIII. is its undoubted founder. And yet the visitor to Oxford, as he walks down St. Aldate's, and gazes at the stately College front which stretches for 400 feet along its eastern side, will look in vain for any indication of its connexion with the great Tudor sovereign. The devices which meet his eye on the corner turrets are the Cardinal's hat, and the pillars set saltire-wise, one of Wolsey's favourite emblems.* In the solitary niche above the main entrance, or "Fair Gate," unoccupied for nearly two centuries, is placed the statue, not of Henry but of Cardinal Wolsey, and the arms at its base are royal arms indeed, but those of Charles II., marking the date of the completion of the Tower.

* For the armorial bearings and badges of Cardinal Wolsey, see Appendix A.

In the vaulted ceiling of the gateway Henry's shield has been placed; but it is there grouped with the arms of Charles I. and Charles II., and with the heraldic achievements of the various noblemen and others who contributed to the erection of the Tower which rises above more than 120 years after Henry's death. Within the Quadrangle itself there is little to recall Henry's name. The statue on the eastern side of the gate is that of Queen Anne, and her arms are carved below. Henry's shield is there, indeed, but almost obliterated. The magnificent Hall which rises on the south side was completed in 1529, seventeen years before Henry's foundation. The domestic buildings which surround the Quadrangle show the piers constructed to carry the vaulting of Wolsey's cloister, and in front of the terrace are seen the foundations of the buttresses which were to form its external support. The visitor must enter the Hall, and walk up to its extreme end, and then at last he will see Holbein's portrait of the royal founder of Christ Church in its proper central position; but next to it, and claiming almost equal honour, is the portrait of the famous Cardinal, painted by the same skilful artist.

The reason is well known, but must be briefly told.

Thomas Wolsey, when at the height of his greatness, desired to create some splendid and opulent institutions which should be permanently associated with his name, and should also be worthy seats of learning and religion. At Ipswich, his birth-place, and at Oxford, the home of his youth and early manhood, he determined to place these foundations. He gave generously of his own private wealth, but he had not to rely on this alone or chiefly. He was able without difficulty to persuade

Pope Clement VII. to authorise the suppression of certain religious houses for the purpose of founding a new institution, a home of learning and piety, on collegiate and not on monastic lines; and the Papal authority for the suppression of twenty-two foundations was given in two Bulls, issued in 1524 and the following year. The chief of these societies was the Priory of St. Frideswide in Oxford, belonging at that time to the Canons Regular of the Augustinian Order, already surrendered to the King, and occupying part of the site designed by Wolsey for his new College.

The royal licence for the Oxford foundation was granted in July 1525. It was styled the "Collegium Thomæ Wolsey Cardinalis Eboracensis"; in English, "Cardinal College." It was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary, St. Frideswide, and All Saints. It was endowed with lands and other revenues amounting to £2000 a year, and was projected on a vast and magnificent scale.

An elaborate body of statutes was drawn up, describing the constitution and providing for the government of the College in all particulars. In these statutes its members are made to consist of a Dean and 60 Canons *primi ordinis*, who together formed the Corporation proper (qui soli de corpore ejusdem reputentur). Then came 40 Canons *secundi ordinis*, answering to the Scholars of the College. For the service of the church 42 persons were provided, 13 Chaplains, 12 Lay Clerks, 16 Choristers, and a teacher of music. There were 23 servants of all ranks; and 6 Public Professors, representing Theology, Canon Law, Philosophy, Civil Law, Medicine, and Literæ Humaniores. There were also 4 Legal officials. From the Canons *primi ordinis* were to be

appointed a Sub-dean, 4 Censors, 3 Bursars, 4 Domestic Professors, and a Seneschall of Hall. The total number was 176 persons.*

A Grant of Arms was issued from the Heralds' Office on August 4, 1525, and the foundation stone had been laid a few weeks earlier, on July 15, by Dr. John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, to which diocese Oxford then belonged. With characteristic energy Wolsey set to work at once to erect the buildings and to direct their progress. Hundreds of workmen were employed; the local oölite stone was fetched from the best quarries within reach, at Burford, Taynton, Headington, and other places; four limekilns, at Kirtlington, Stanton St. John, Beckley, and Headington, supplied the lime for mortar. In a single year nearly £8000 appears to have been spent, the payments being made every fortnight.†

* Wood (*Colleges and Halls*, p. 423) enumerates the members of the foundation, and gives 184,—though he adds them up wrongly, making the total 186. Fiddes in his life of Wolsey (*Collections*, p. 115) seems to have copied Wood in substance, but to have taken his total from some one who had consulted the statutes and discovered the real number. The main mistake which Wood makes, and which is repeated by Fiddes, consists in reckoning the Sub-dean, Censors, Domestic Professors, and Bursars as distinct from the Canons *primi ordinis*, whereas they were really included among them.

† Dr. London, Warden of New College, reported to Wolsey, at the end of 1526, on the progress of the work up to that date:— "First all the lodgings in the west side be fully furnished, save only batteling of the stone work; and the great tower over the gate is as high erect as the said lodgings. Towards the street, the King's grace and my Lord Cardinal's arms in three sundry works most curiously be set over the middle of that gate, and my lord's grace's arms goodly set out with gold and colour. All these lodgings be thoroughly covered with lead. Inwardly the carpenters have done right good diligence to prepare the doors, windows, partitions, and

The Monastery of St. Frideswide occupied the eastern side of the selected site, lying close against the ancient city wall. It was treated with scant respect. The three western bays of the nave of the church, together with the whole western cloister and the adjoining tenements, were demolished to make room for the building of the new Quadrangle. The Chapter House and Refectory were allowed to stand, but a new Refectory or College Hall was designed; the ruined city wall was cleared away and the church of St. Michael at south gate was removed, to make room for the present stately Hall and the adjoining buildings on the south side of the Quadrangle, as far as the south-western angle.* The western side was continued up to and beyond the gateway, but not so far as the north-western corner. In close proximity to the Hall was built the Kitchen, a magnificent apartment, with vast open ranges at the sides, and a central fire with louvre above. The completion of this room before anything else gave rise to

other necessaries, so that almost nothing shall let but that my lord's scholars shall at his grace's pleasure inhabit the same. At the south end there is a great tower which within four foot is erect as high as the other lodgings. And so upon the south side, the chambers which be towards the hall be almost come to bear the floors of the upper lodging. And the foundation of the hall is in most places five or six foot high. The foundation of the church in the north side is equal with the ground, and in like manner the foundations of lodgings of the east side be upon the utter side erect unto the old church door, and in the inner side nigh as far as is required. Over this, almost all the foundations of the cloister be as high as the ground."—Quoted by Maxwell Lyte, *History of the University of Oxford*, p. 446.

* St. Michael's church stood at the north and south gates; St. Peter's at the eastern and western extremities of the city.

Invigilat portæ Australi Boreæque Michael,
Exortum solem Petrus regit atque cadentem.

the sarcastic comment, "Egregium opus! Cardinalis iste instituit collegium, et absolvit popinam." A more spiteful utterance of some Oxford scholar, stuck on to the walls of the new buildings, contained a gloomy prophecy:—

> "Non stabit illa domus, aliis fundata rapinis;
> Aut ruet, aut alter raptor habebit eam."

As first occupants of the new College Wolsey appointed for Dean Dr. John Hygden, President of Magdalen College (his old home of earlier days), and placed him in the lodgings of the Prior of St. Frideswide, now occupied by the canon of the second stall, the Margaret Professor of Divinity, till the new deanery should be built. Eighteen canons were nominated from among Oxford men, and some more from Cambridge. Two famous names are sometimes mentioned among those selected from Cambridge, but probably without sufficient authority. William Tyndale is named by Wood, doubtless on the authority of Foxe, but if the accepted account of his life be accurate, he was at this time on the continent. Foxe, who is followed by other writers, also asserts that Thomas Cranmer had been invited by Wolsey to become a canon, but was persuaded by his friends to decline the post, while he was actually on his journey to Oxford to take up his residence there. Yet it is an unlikely story. His age indeed (he was 41 years old at this time) might not have proved an absolute bar to such an offer, for among the senior canons were men of considerable standing; but Cranmer had been a Fellow of Jesus College, had married, lost his wife, and become a Fellow a second time; and he had not entered Holy Orders till

From a photograph by the [*Oxford Camera Club*

THOMAS WOLSEY

FROM THE PICTURE BY HOLBEIN IN CHRIST CHURCH HALL

he was thirty-nine years old. Probably the story arose from his name being confounded with that of Thomas Canner, who was the first canon of the foundation.

Cardinal College lasted so short a time that few events are recorded of its history. In Foxe, however, there may be read a pathetic narrative, which affords one vivid picture of its inmates. The Cambridge men whom Wolsey had chosen for members of his College had been selected for their learning and intellectual promise, in spite apparently of some disquieting rumours as to their orthodoxy. Among them were John Clark, Sumner, Betts, and Taverner, the last being the player of the music in the College chapel. Wolsey's own position in relation to the new teaching which was spreading secretly throughout Europe was unequivocally hostile; the "hellish Lutherans," as he terms them in his words to Kingston just before his death, were objects of his bitterest enmity. Unfortunately these Cambridge students were all infected with the new heresy. Clark held private classes in his rooms, and read St. Paul's Epistles with those who assembled there. To them at Christmas 1527 came one Thomas Garrett from London (he had been formerly a Fellow of Magdalen College) on a second private visit, bringing with him books and tracts for secret circulation. He found a home with one of the singing men of Cardinal College named Radley. His arrival was notified to Wolsey, who sent instructions for his arrest to the Dean, Dr. Hygden. Anthony Dalaber, a Scholar of Alban Hall, and one of the members of Clark's little company, has described what followed: Garrett's escape, return, and second escape from imprisonment in the lodgings of the Rector of Lincoln, and the consternation of the authorities

when they learnt that the bird was flown. On February 21, 1528, Dalaber went down to Cardinal College—or Frideswide, as he calls it, using the old name—to confer with Master Clark. He went into the chapel, finding no doubt the approaches encumbered with building operations, and the church itself with its western end dismantled and unfinished.

"Evensong was begun; the Dean and the canons were there in their grey amices; they were almost at 'Magnificat' before I came thither. I stood in the choir door, and heard Master Taverner play, and others of the chapel there sing, with and among whom I myself was wont to sing also; but now my singing and music were turned into sighing and musing. As I there stood, in cometh Dr. Cottisford, the Commissary, as fast as ever he could go, bare-headed, as pale as ashes (I knew his grief well enough); and to the Dean he goeth into the choir, where he was sitting in his stall, and talked with him very sorrowfully; what, I know not; but whereof, I might and did truly guess. I went aside from the choir door to see and hear more. The Commissary and Dean came out of the choir, wonderfully troubled as it seemed. About the middle of the church met them Dr. London, puffing, blustering, and blowing like a hungry and greedy lion seeking his prey. They talked together awhile; but the Commissary was much blamed by them, insomuch that he wept for sorrow. The doctors departed, and sent abroad their servants and spies everywhere. Master Clark, about the middle of the Compline, came forth of the choir. I followed him to his chamber, and declared what had happened that afternoon of Master Garrett's escape."

The sequel of the story does not concern us, except that Clark was soon afterwards imprisoned by the

Bishop of Lincoln, and died of the treatment before being sent to the stake. He was refused the Communion, and his last recorded words were "Crede et manducasti." He was our first Christ Church martyr. John Frith, another Cambridge man on Wolsey's foundation, the assistant of Tyndale in his translation of the Bible, may claim to be regarded as our second martyr. Frith was burnt at Smithfield in July 1533.

In October 1529 came the Cardinal's fall. In that month he was indicted in the King's Bench for receiving Bulls from Rome in violation of the Statute of Provisors. The great seal was taken from him and given to Sir Thomas More. He was ordered to retire to Esher; and on October 28 judgment of forfeiture of goods and imprisonment was given against him in the King's Bench. His possessions were thus forfeited to the Crown, and his college at Oxford, in spite of many appeals for its preservation, was soon dissolved. We read that within a few weeks after Wolsey's disgrace, the rich vestments and other ornaments of the church were carried up to London that his arms might be removed from them. They were not likely to be returned when once taken away. To an application that he would spare some white copes for the use of the Dean and canons on great festivals, Henry returned the cynical answer—"Alack! They are all disposed, and not one of them is left." The college at Ipswich was immediately dissolved, and its possessions were appropriated by the King. More delay was allowed in the case of Cardinal College, and Wolsey made piteous appeals for its preservation. Dean Hygden, accompanied by Robert Carter, one of the canons and formerly steward to the Cardinal, went to Court, in

August 1530, to present a petition from the members of the foundation, and met with a reception from Henry which sent him back with some hope that mercy would be shown. The King allowed the college to receive its rents till Michaelmas, and declared his intention of having a college at Oxford "honourably to maintain the service of God and literature." It was expected that through the influence of the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Wiltshire, Anne Boleyn's father, a writ of "supersedeas" would be obtained, to save the possessions from seizure by the King's Commissioners. But Henry was in the end obdurate, and the college was totally suppressed. Its lands were for the most part dispersed, "either sold to, or begged away by, hungry courtiers and others," and there is no indication of any provision being made for the existing members of the foundation.

In 1532, by letters patent dated July 18, Henry established a new College on the same site, with the title of "King Henry VIII.'s College in Oxford," the foundation consisting only of a Dean and 12 canons. Thus the institution was purely ecclesiastical, and no mention is made in its statutes of any obligation to found professorships or promote the interests of learning. John Hygden was nominated as Dean, but he survived his appointment only a few months, and was buried in the chapel of his old College of Magdalen, "in medio choro." His successor was John Oliver, and among the members of the chapter were two of the original canons of Cardinal College (Thomas Canner and Edward Leighton), Dr. Cottisford, Rector of Lincoln, who as Commissary had been so busy in Garrett's case, and William Tresham, afterwards canon

at Oseney. This foundation was surrendered to the King by the Dean and Chapter on May 20, 1545, and provision was soon afterwards made for granting pensions to the members of the obedient Chapter. Seven years before the surrender, the church had lost its great treasure and famous object of veneration, the shrine of St. Frideswide, which was demolished in 1538.

On the same day with the surrender of the foundation of 1532 the Commissioners received also the surrender of the Cathedral Church of Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary at Oseney; that is to say of the new Cathedral body which had been formed at the ancient Abbey, upon the creation of the see and diocese of Oxford in 1542. The ground was thus cleared for a reconstitution of the bishopric and of the splendid foundation which was associated with the still unfinished buildings of Cardinal College. Accordingly, on November 4, 1546, Henry VIII. established by letters patent a third foundation, that of Christ Church, and united the episcopal see with the collegiate corporation. Its style, as has been already stated, was "Ecclesia Christi Cathedralis Oxon: ex fundatione Regis Henrici Octavi." The King, lustful and hard-hearted, as all the Tudors were hard-hearted, was always an enlightened patron of learning, and the sincerity of his desire to advance its interests was amply shown in this royal foundation.*

* It is perhaps a matter for surprise that there should be any reluctance to claim Henry VIII. as our founder. Yet when using the Bidding Prayer before University sermon, members of our House sometimes attempt to escape from this avowal by substituting other words. I have heard the clearly unhistorical statement: "such as was Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal, Lord Archbishop of York, the founder of Christ Church." Another preacher used to say simply: "such as was the founder of Christ Church," leaving his

Although the Bishop's see was now planted at Christ Church, the episcopal revenues were distinct from those of the Dean and the eight canons who were now constituted a corporation. To this latter body were assigned the buildings of the earlier foundation, together with lands and tenements which produced a revenue of £2200 a year. But this property was to be held subject to the condition that the Dean and Chapter maintained a full staff of persons for the services of the Cathedral Church, three Public Professors, in Theology, Hebrew, and Greek, who were to be appointed by the King, and 100 Students, besides 24 servants and officers, and 24 almsmen. The Students, not yet designated as a body by the special name of "Alumni," were divided into classes, viz., 20 Theologi, 40 Philosophi, and 40 Discipuli.*

The foundation thus established still exists, and it continued without any essential change till 1858. A certain number of the Studentships were assigned, as will be seen, by Queen Elizabeth to Westminster school; in 1601 the nomination to one of the Studentships was granted by a private Act of Parliament to the Venables (afterwards Vernon) family, in return for the grant of an estate in Cheshire; and in 1664 an additional Studentship was created in consequence of a bequest of William Thurston, Esq., "a jovial cavalier," who left £800 to "King's College in Oxford." This bequest

audience to supply the name they preferred; and a third version was: "Among whom I am bound in this place to mention King Henry VIII. *as* the founder of Christ Church," a phrase which committed the speaker to very little. The most sensitive conscience might be satisfied by an ampler formula: "such as were King Henry VIII., the founder of Christ Church, and Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal, the creator of the original foundation of Cardinal College."

* For the documents relating to the foundation of Christ Church, see Appendix B.

was claimed by Oriel and Brasenose Colleges, but the superior claim of Christ Church was allowed.

It remains to trace the fortunes of Henry VIII.'s foundation down to the present day, noting at the outset that it was not only a Collegiate but also a Cathedral establishment, and that it was charged with distinct duties towards the University in providing the endowment of three Regius Professorships.

It should be mentioned that in the letters patent of November 4, 1546, are given the names of the eight canons nominated by the King to the newly created stalls, who formed with the Dean (also nominated) "unum corpus corporatum" with perpetual succession. They were: (1) William Haynes, S.T.B.; (2) William Tresham, S.T.P.; (3) Thomas Day, LL.B.; (4) Alexander Belsyre, A.M.; (5) John Dyar, A.M.; (6) James Curthope, A.M.; (7) Thomas Barnard, A.M.; and (8) Robert Banks, A.M. They are described as "primus, secundus, &c., presbyter præbendarius," and ranked in order of nomination. Four of them, Haynes, Day, Belsyre, and Dyar, had been previously canons of Oseney. Haynes was also Provost of Oriel College. Tresham had been canon of Henry VIII.'s College. Curthope, a Fellow of Corpus, though entitled "presbyter," was not at the time in Holy Orders. He became Dean of Peterborough in 1549. Barnard and Banks were Cambridge graduates. These two last were deprived of their canonries at the beginning of Mary's reign for being married men, and were both restored under Elizabeth. Tresham and Belsyre (the latter the first President of St. John's College, 1555) were deprived at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign; the former, if not both, for denying the royal supremacy.

To each of these canons certain lodgings were assigned at the outset, determined probably by seniority of choice; and as the succession of tenants has continued, with some inevitable changes, to the present day, it will be well for the sake of clearness to distinguish the several Canonries according to the lodgings.

Stall 1 had lodgings originally adjoining the great gate on its northern side. Upon the completion of the great quadrangle in 1665 the lodgings now occupied by the Archdeacon of Oxford were assigned to this stall.

Stall 2 has always had lodgings in the cloisters, in the residence of the Prior of the Monastery.

Stall 3 has had a more eventful career. Till 1660 the lodgings were on the eastern side of the great quadrangle, between those of stalls 4 and 5. In that year these lodgings were, by a Chapter order, sacrificed for the enlargement of the two adjoining residences; and Dr. Gardiner, the holder of the stall (who had been deprived under the Commonwealth and was now restored), was placed in a house near the Chaplains' Buildings, which had been erected in 1638 by Philip King, the Auditor. This house was burnt down in 1669, and a new house was built between Kill-Canon and Peckwater, which has belonged to the stall since that time.

Stall 4 has always enjoyed the lodgings now assigned to the Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology.

Stall 5 originally had the southernmost portion of the east side of the great quadrangle, but in 1871 the Regius Professor of Divinity (to whom this stall was assigned) moved into the lodgings of the 8th stall, then suppressed.

Stall 6. The lodgings in the south-west corner of the great quadrangle have always belonged to this stall, which is held by the Regius Professor of Hebrew.

Stall 7. The lodgings were originally on the west side of Peckwater Inn, in much the same position as the residence assigned to the stall when the new quadrangle of Peckwater was built, comprising staircase No. 9, and part of the present lodgings of the Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History.

Stall 8. The lodgings were originally in Canterbury College, at the north-east corner, as may be seen in Agas' plan. Thence they were removed to the east side of Peckwater Inn; thence, on the completion of the great quadrangle, to the lodgings now occupied by the Regius Professor of Divinity.

Stalls 7 and 8 were suppressed under the Ordinance of 1858, and the lodgings attached to them became vacant, the first in 1859, on the death of Dr. Barnes, the other in 1871, on the death of Dr. Jelf.

CHAPTER II

THE TUDOR PERIOD

Deans: Richard Cox, 1546–53; Richard Marshall, 1553–9; George Carew, 1559–61; Thomas Sampson, 1561–5; Thomas Godwin, 1565–7; Thomas Cooper, 1567–70; John Piers, 1570–6; Tobie Matthews, 1576–84; William James, 1584–96; Thomas Ravis, 1596–1605.

THE history of Christ Church during the Tudor period, as indeed is the case throughout its annals, may be conveniently and naturally connected with the series of its Deans. The Tudor Deans comprise a long line of no fewer than ten persons in the short space of half a century, and the list shows the oscillations from one ecclesiastical party to another, as the nation passed from Henry to Edward, from Edward to Mary, and from Mary to Elizabeth.

The first Dean of Christ Church (or Christ's Church)*

* These two titles (of which the second has become obsolete) are perfectly legitimate, as English renderings of "Ecclesia Christi." The substitution of "Ædes" for "Ecclesia" is found as early as 1561, and in the matriculation registers from 1582; while the familiar abbreviation "Ch: Ch:" occurs in the chapter books for the first time in 1651. The expression "Christ Church College" has no authority, and tends to obliterate the distinction between Christ Church and the other Oxford foundations, namely, that it is a Cathedral as well as a Collegiate establishment. But one may quite rightly use such expressions as "College Officers," "College Prayers," or "the College," when referring to the non-cathedral element of the foundation. On the

was *Richard Cox*. He appears to have been educated at Eton and at King's College, Cambridge, and to have been among those Cambridge men who were selected as junior canons of Cardinal College. He had been nominated by the King to the Deanery of Oxford in January 1544, while the see was still at Oseney, in succession to Dr. London, and was now appointed to the Deanery of the new foundation. He was a supporter of the doctrines of the Reformation, and during Edward VI.'s reign held a prominent place in Oxford. From 1547 to 1552 he was Chancellor of the University, but resigned that office in order that it "might be conferred on some one who had more influence 'apud regni proceres' than he himself had."

His ardour in the cause of the reformed religion led him to incur the everlasting disgrace of being "one of the most extreme of those who in their zeal against popery destroyed with ruthless hand the ancient MSS. in the libraries of Oxford." He also ventured on a step which if Henry had lived might have proved somewhat hazardous, in introducing a wife into the Dean's lodgings. Mrs. Cox and Mrs. Peter Martyr were the first two married ladies to dwell within College walls in Oxford.

other hand, to speak of Christ Church as "*the* House" in contradistinction to the Colleges of Oxford, is quite a mistake. All Colleges are "Houses" in relation to their own members, as is indicated by the well-known phrase, "Heads of Houses"; and every College may speak of its own members as belonging to "our House," or "the House." In such a sense the word is correctly used by Christ Church men when referring to members of their House; but it is wrongly used when—as on the river—our boat is called by outsiders the "House" eight, as though their own Colleges were not "Houses" also. Till quite recently it was called the "Christ Church" eight, and was urged on by the shouting of that title.

Cox lost his Deanery with Mary's accession, was imprisoned for a time, and then took refuge at Frankfurt. He returned at Elizabeth's accession to the throne, and became Bishop of Ely, the first of the only two Oxford men, both members of Christ Church, who have held that see. The names of Hatton Garden and Ely Place still recall "the encroaching Lord Keeper and the elbowed Bishop." Hatton desired to build his house in the Bishop's garden, and when Cox resisted the spoliation he received from the Queen the famous letter, unhappily of doubtful authenticity :—

"PROUD PRELATE,

"You know what you were before I made you; if you do not immediately comply with my request, by G—d I will unfrock you.

"ELIZABETH."

The name of Peter Martyr is associated with a curious episode in Christ Church history. Peter Martyr Vermilius, a Florentine, at one time Abbot of Spoleto and Prior of St. Peter *ad aram* near Naples, had incurred the suspicion of the Inquisition and had fled to Zürich, and thence to Strassburg. He adopted the Reformed doctrine, and at Cranmer's invitation came to England in 1547. In the following year he was made Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and in 1550 was assigned a canonry at Christ Church, succeeding Dr. William Haynes as canon of the 1st stall. The lodgings belonging to this stall at that time, as has been already stated, adjoined the great gate on its north side. To this home he brought a German wife, Katherine Dampmartin, and his arrival at once attracted the hostility of the Catholics, so that the scholars broke

his windows and disturbed his studies and sleep. He therefore contrived to change his lodgings for those of the canon of the 2nd stall, formerly the Prior's house, where in the seclusion of the cloisters he could rest undisturbed; and in the garden of these lodgings he built a study, a stone building two stories high, which remained till 1684, when Aldrich, who then occupied the stall, pulled it down.* Mary's accession drove Martyr out of England; but he was then a widower, his wife having died in Christ Church in 1552. The remarkable story connected with his wife's remains is told in a small and rare volume published in 1561 by James Calfhill, canon of Christ Christ 1560–70, containing various copies of verses in commemoration of the events, which are recorded in detail in a Latin preface addressed to Grindal, Bishop of London.

In 1554 Cardinal Pole sent Commissioners to Oxford, to restore the Roman Catholic worship and to inquire for heretics. Information reached them that Martyr's wife had died two years before, and had been buried in the Cathedral near the sacred body of St. Frideswide. But was she a heretic? Those who had known her in Oxford were asked, and all declared that owing to her foreign speech they were quite ignorant of what her religion had been. The matter was therefore reported to the Cardinal, who made up his mind without hesitation. Cox's place as Dean had now been taken by *Richard Marshall* (1553–9),† a former Fellow of Corpus and for a while Student of Christ Church, a Romanist for the nonce, and to Marshall, "indignis-

* It is figured in Loggan's drawing.

† In a letter preserved in the University archives he spells his name thus; but it is often written as Martial.

simum Ædis Christi Decanum," as Calfhill terms him, came a peremptory order from Pole, "ut quoniam juxta corpus sanctissimæ Frideswidæ jacebat corpus uxoris Petri Martyris, exhumari et jactari faciat."

No one could have been found, writes Calfhill, fitter for such a task. He declares Marshall to have been a man of drunken habits and fanatical temper, a terror to the dead as well as to the living. At fall of day, resting for a while from his deep potations, he went with boon companions and workmen to the church, and after digging up the corpse, had it conveyed on the shoulders of a labourer to a dung-heap in his own yard, where it was buried amid the filth. There it rested till Elizabeth's reign. Calfhill, the narrator, was by this time a canon, having taken the place of Dr. Tresham on his deprivation in 1560. To him and others orders were sent for the honourable burial of Katherine Martyr. The place of her orginal sepulture was ascertained, near the tomb of St. Frideswide. Then, in the Dean's stable-yard, the decayed body was found hidden in the dung. The remains were collected and conveyed reverently to the church, to be there guarded till a feast day should bring together a multitude.

At the same time, in a remote part of the church were discovered some bones, covered in a silk wrapping; and these were identified as the bones of St. Frideswide, which formerly, before the desecration of her shrine in 1538, it had been customary to exhibit above the High Altar on great occasions. It was resolved to bury these bones and the remains of Katherine Martyr "permixta et confusa" in one common grave at the east end of the church, and this was done with much ceremony, amid a large concourse of people, on January 11, 1562.

A volume of Latin poems celebrated the event; the best of them being the following epigram written by Calfhill himself:—

"Ossa Frideswidæ sacro decorata triumpho
Altari festis mota diebus erant.
E tumulo contra Katherinæ Martyris ossa
Turpiter in fœdum jacta fuere locum.
Nunc utriusque simul saxo sunt ossa sub uno,
Par ambabus honos, et sine lite cubant.
Vivite nobiscum concordes ergo papistæ,
Nunc coeunt pietas atque superstitio."

This strange narrative connects the reign of Edward VI. with that of Elizabeth, and it was not likely that Marshall, who had been intruded into the Deanery by Mary, and had remained there throughout her reign, would be leniently judged by those who came after him. Leonard Hutten, the Christ Church antiquary, who was canon of the 7th stall 1599-1632, confirms the verdict of Calfhill as to Marshall's general character, and quotes on this point the words of Laurence Humphrey, President of Magdalen College and Regius Professor of Divinity, the friend of Dean Sampson, and biographer of Bishop Jewel. Humphrey's account of Marshall, written in 1573, was perhaps based on personal knowledge, and carries considerable weight, though he was undoubtedly no impartial judge of Marshall's actions. He describes him as

"homo versipellis, et vere Ecebolus *; sub Edvardo publice retractans, sub Maria reversus ad vomitum, sub Elizabetha primum vagus et erro, mox captus et Londini examinatus

* Hutten in quoting these words uses the more familiar form of the name, Ecebolius.

iterum mutat sententiam, iterum ac tertio aliam canit cantilenam, eam palam in suggestu Paulino contestaturus, si vita longior superfuisset."

He also accuses him of plotting against Jewel in Mary's reign. But whatever may have been Marshall's faults, he at any rate did not prosper through them. There is no doubt that under Elizabeth he suffered deprivation and imprisonment, and died in obscurity.

One other famous event is connected with Marshall's tenure of the Deanery—the degradation of Archbishop Cranmer after his excommunication. It is thus described by Dean Hook:

"On February 14, 1555, the Archbishop was brought under a guard to Christ Church. Here the Bishop of London [Bonner], the Bishop of Ely [Thirlby], and other persons in the Commission had already taken their places on an elevated platform before the High Altar in the choir, in full pontificals. The commission, which was read, invested its members with full authority to deprive, to degrade, and to excommunicate Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, and on his degradation to deliver him up to the secular power, 'omni appellatione remota.'

"With solemn step and slow the procession moved out of the church to a portion of the adjoining yard. Here stood a credence table in the shape of an altar. The candlesticks were upon it, but the candles were not lighted. It was covered with the habiliments of the clergy, and the various utensils made use of in their ministrations. On either side were 'sedilia' for the two bishops and other persons included in the Commission; for the officer appointed by the Government, when to the tender mercies of the State the prisoner should be committed, and for a notary public. There was a faldstool placed, at which the

Archbishop knelt, while the Bishop of London, in the name of the Blessed Trinity and by the authority of the Church, declared him deposed, degraded and cut off from all the privileges attached to his Clerical Order. This was not enough, however, for Bonner. With unfeeling insolence he turned to the assembled multitude, and exclaimed in triumph :

"'This is the man that ever despised the Pope's Holiness and now is to be judged by him. This is the man who hath pulled down so many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church. This is the man that condemned the Blessed Sacrament of the altar, and now is come to be condemned before the Blessed Sacrament hanging over the altar. This is the man that, like Lucifer, sat in the place of Christ upon an altar, to judge others, and now is come before an altar to be judged himself.'"

These taunts led to an unseemly altercation, which Thirlby in vain tried to stop, and then the ceremony of degradation proceeded.

"All the vestments which he as an Archbishop was privileged to wear lay outstretched on the credence table, though made of canvas and other coarse stuff: the purple cassock, the amice, the rochet, the alb, the stole, the tunicle, the dalmatic, the maniple, the chasuble, the mitre, the gloves, the episcopal ring, the sandals, the buskins, the gremial, the pastoral staff, the crosier, and the pallium. Two or more mocking priests proceeded to vest him. There stood the venerable man, the mitre on his head, in his left hand the pastoral staff. The grace of his manly face, the dignity of his figure, prevented men from noticing the material of which the vestments had been made. From the top step which led to the credence table, standing in imitation of an altar, the Primate of all

England and Metropolitan looked down upon his suffragans, who contrary to all law were sitting in judgment upon him. . . . One by one all the ornaments and distinctions of office were taken off. . . . A barber clipped the hair round the Archbishop's head; and Cranmer was made to kneel before Bonner. Bonner scraped the tips of the Archbishop's fingers to desecrate the hand which, itself anointed, had administered the unction to others. The threadbare gown of a yeoman bedel was thrown over his shoulders, and a townsman's greasy cap was forced upon his head. The Archbishop of Canterbury, or as he was now called, Thomas Cranmer, was handed over to the secular power. In the lowest and most offensive manner the innate vulgarity of Bonner's mind displayed itself. Turning to Cranmer he exclaimed, 'Now you are no longer my Lord,' and he thought it witty ever afterwards to speak of him as 'this gentleman here.' "

The exact locality of this extraordinary scene has not been identified. It might have been in the cloisters, or in the enclosure eastward of the Chapter House. One other incident of Cranmer's life took place at Christ Church. He was removed from the prison at Bocardo to the Deanery, and was there for a time hospitably entertained, playing bowls on the Deanery lawn. This was after his first recantation; but such liberty was allowed only for a little while.

Of *George Carew* (1559–61), Marshall's successor, little is recorded. He was of noble family, the son of Edward Lord Carew: he had been a member of Broadgates Hall, and had held several preferments in the west of England. He was Archdeacon of Exeter at the time of his appointment to Christ Church; and on his resignation in 1561 he accepted the Deanery of

Bristol, a post of which he had been deprived eight years before, on Mary's accession.

But the date 1561, when Carew gave place to Dean Sampson, marks an event which was of signal importance in the history of Christ Church, the assignment by Elizabeth of certain of its Studentships to boys educated at her royal foundation of St. Peter's, Westminster.

In that year began the roll of the annual elections from Westminster school to the two Universities, for the Master of Trinity Cambridge received the same mandate as the Dean of Christ Church. At first neither of the Colleges welcomed the new obligation; they tried to evade it, and to excuse themselves for not discharging it. In the year 1575, two of the Queen's Scholars of Westminster, Carow and Ravis, though duly chosen according to the statute, were refused admission to Christ Church by the Dean and Chapter on the ground that there was no room for them, two other students besides them having presented themselves for admission armed with letters from the Queen. The young men thus excluded did not tamely submit, but wrote Latin epistles to Lord Burghley, stating their hard case, and pointing out the injury that would be done to the school if their rights were ignored: "non mea solum, sed totius Westmonasterii, jam res agitur" pleads Carow. They were both ultimately admitted. But this disagreement, due in large measure no doubt to the arbitrary action of Elizabeth in nominating scholars at her own will, led to a stringent order issued by her in the next year (17 Elizabeth) in which the number of students to be elected from Westminster is carefully defined afresh: "ne incertus sit omnino numerus, sex ad minimum, videlicet tres in Ecclesiam Christi Oxon, et

tres in Collegium S. Trinitatis, singulis annis;" provided that there be room for them, and fitting candidates. Accordingly in 1577 we find three lads elected to each College: and though this number is not always maintained, the exceptions are rare in subsequent years. In 1660 indeed there appears to have been no formal election, on account of the unsettled state of the Universities, but according to Wood, Wiliam Jane, afterwards Professor of Divinity and Dean of Gloucester, was in that year admitted as a Student.

It is difficult to overestimate the advantage to Christ Church of this ancient and honourable connexion with Westminster school, a union which has been maintained with rare fidelity, to the great benefit of both School and College. Westminster has always given to Christ Church its most distinguished sons, and Christ Church has warmly appreciated the privilege of enrolling on the list of its Students the foremost boys of so venerable a school. Among the "Alumni Westmonasterienses" will be found a very large proportion of the famous men of Christ Church; sixteen of its Deans were educated there; the first of them being Ravis, whose election, when a boy, was so seriously imperilled.

Thomas Sampson (1561–5) stands in marked contrast to Marshall, the Dean of Mary's time. He was a strong and obstinate Puritan. He appears to have been educated at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, though without taking a degree. He was a friend of Ridley and of Cranmer, was married to a niece of Ridley's, and on his ordination in company with Bradford (the subsequent martyr) had taken so strong an exception "against the apparel" that he was allowed to be ordained without

assuming the clerical habits. In Mary's reign he had lived in Germany and Switzerland, and his appointment to the Deanery of Christ Church is attributed to a request made to Elizabeth by the whole Society through Lord Robert Dudley. This is strange, as he was not a graduate of Oxford, and indeed never became one, though he obtained leave to preach in a doctor's habit within the precincts of the University. So stiff, however, were his Puritan opinions and so resolute his refusal to conform, that in March 1565 he was summoned, together with Laurence Humphrey and four other Puritan ministers, to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners at Lambeth, and was by special order of the Queen deprived of his Deanery and placed in confinement. Archbishop Parker appears to have stood his friend at this time, and to have gained his release. It was probably through Parker that he obtained a Prebend at St. Paul's, and the Mastership of Wigston's Hospital at Leicester, where he died at an advanced age in 1589. On his monument there he is described as "Hierarchiæ Romanæ papaliumque rituum hostis acerrimus, sinceritatis evangelicæ assertor constantissimus." His Puritan zeal is illustrated by an entry in the Chapter books in September 1561, soon after his becoming Dean of Christ Church :—

"Convocatis per Decanum in domum nostram Capitularem omnibus Præbendariis unanimi decreto consensum est ut altaria, statuæ, imagines, tabernacula, libri missales cæteraque id genus superstitionis et idololatriæ monumenta, quæ tam in templo nostro quam alibi apud nos reliqua erant, prorsus tollerentur; necnon ut Ædes sacra in meliorem et convenientem formam publicis Ecclesiæ nostræ impensis redigeretur."

It was shortly after his deprivation that the famous "Advertisements" were issued.

Thomas Godwin (1565–7) was Dean for only two years, passing on to the Deanery of Canterbury and then to the Bishopric of Bath and Wells. He was educated at Magdalen College, as were his two successors in the Deanery, and appears to have lost his Fellowship in consequence of his sympathy with the reformed doctrine. In Mary's reign he studied and practised physic as a profession; Elizabeth for a time took him into great favour; partly, perhaps, for the reason given by Fuller, that he was "tall and comely in person, qualities which endeared him to Queen Elizabeth, who loved good parts well, but better when in a goodly person"; but a second marriage that he made seems to have alienated her. It was during his tenure of the Deanery of Christ Church that Elizabeth, in 1566, paid her first visit to Oxford. The Queen and Court were lodged in Christ Church, the members of the College, except the Dean and certain of the canons, giving up their rooms for the accommodation of the visitors. The whole of the east side of the quadrangle was used as a palace for the Queen, and no doubt there was then a communication on both floors along its entire length, possibly giving admission to the Hall, in some way, through the door now blocked up, which may be seen in the face of the north wall of the Hall staircase tower.

The Queen during her visit attended plays in the Hall, witnessing the two parts of "Palæmon and Arcyte" on two successive nights, and the tragedy of "Progne," written by Calfhill, which must have been a dreary performance:

"in scena exhibetur quomodo Tereus rex comedit filium necatum apparatumque ab uxore Progne ob stupratam sororem suam, omnia certe prout oportebat summo apparatu cultuque vere regio."

At her departure for Rycote, Mr. Tobie Matthews, a young M.A. Student, soon to be Dean, made a polished oration as she mounted her horse, praying her graciously to preserve the College "quod pater inchoavit, frater ornavit, soror auxit."*

Godwin was succeeded as Dean by our first Christ Church Lexicographer, *Thomas Cooper* (1567-70), a profound and laborious scholar, whose "Thesaurus Linguæ Græcæ et Britannicæ," published in 1565, had for a long while a well-deserved reputation. Cooper was a native of Oxford, and had risen at Magdalen College from the position of chorister to that of Fellow, and Master of the school. William Camden was among his pupils there. After becoming Dean he was appointed Vice-Chancellor by Lord Leicester, who then first assumed the power of nominating his own deputy without reference to Convocation; hence the name Vice-Chancellor took the place of the earlier title of Commissary. Cooper's domestic life was embittered by a termagant wife, but this did not interfere with his preferment, for he passed from Christ Church to the Bishopric of Lincoln, and thence to Winchester. He was there buried, and in his epitaph is described as "munificentissimus, doctissimus, vigilantissimus præsul."

John Piers (1570–6), was originally a member of Magdalen College, but at the time of his appointment

* Edward VI. gave endowments amounting to £21 9*s.* 3*d.*, and Mary endowments amounting to £74 8*s.* 4*d.*, per annum, in augmentation of Henry's original dotation.

to Christ Church held the Mastership of Balliol, a preferment which he retained for a time together with the Deanery. He became afterwards Bishop of Rochester and of Salisbury, and finally Archbishop of York. He was a native of South Hinksey, and possibly the "Cross Keys" inn there owes its sign to the fact that one of the villagers became Primate of the northern Province.

His successor as Dean, *Tobie Matthews* (1576-84), was a remarkable man. He entered Oxford at the age of 13, and from St. John's College went to Christ Church as a Student. If the dates of his various preferments can be trusted, he was Canon of Christ Church at the age of 24, President of St. John's two years later, and Dean of Christ Church at the age of 30. When he became Dean of Durham in 1584, at the age of 38, Elizabeth is said to have "stuck a good deal," in consenting to the appointment, "because of his youth and marriage." Ten years afterwards he became Bishop of Durham, and subsequently Archbishop of York.

Matthews was a statesman as well as a prelate; and the advisers of Elizabeth and James relied upon him to watch the northern shires, and report on any dangers that menaced England on that frontier. To his charge Arabella Stuart was entrusted, but his guardianship was somewhat lax, for she escaped from his custody in 1611. As Dean of Christ Church, in spite of his youth, he acquitted himself admirably. Of his Vice-Chancellorship in 1580 Wood writes:

> "I have heard some of the antients of this University say at my first coming that though Matthews was a most excellent scholar, yet being too young for the office of Vice-Chancellor showed himself a little too busy and pragmatical."

Certainly he had an unpleasant altercation with the Principal of Brasenose in St. Mary's Church, on the occasion of the Act. The Dean, as Vice-Chancellor, himself "kept the scaffolds" built theatre-wise at the east end of the nave, and "thrust down" the Principal of Brasenose (Harris), who was his senior, upon his claiming the right to enter. But when a few days afterwards Matthews laid down his office in St. Mary's chancel, Harris used such opprobrious language to him that the matter was reported to the new Vice-Chancellor, who ordered the Principal to make a public reparation and submission. A feud between Christ Church and Brasenose was the natural consequence of this unseemly affair.

Matthews was a popular and eloquent preacher. The number of the sermons preached by him after leaving Oxford has been recorded. As Dean of Durham he delivered 721 sermons in 11 years; as Bishop of Durham, 550 in 12 years; as Archbishop of York, 721 in 22 years. One of the sermons was preached at Berwick before King James, when on his way to take possession of the throne of England. He was a pleasant and witty man, and was wont to say "he could as well not be as not be merry." But he was scholar and theologian as well as wit; "Theologus præstantissimus," as Camden terms him.

One curious event is recorded during his tenure of the Deanery of Christ Church, the visit of Albertus a Lasco to Oxford in 1583. This personage was Palatine of Siradia, a duchy in Lower Poland, and Elizabeth, whose guest he was, sent him down to Oxford with instructions to the authorities to entertain him with due honour.

He was first received by the University at St. Mary's church,

"and thense he marched to Christ's Church, where he was, whilest he abode in the Universitie, most honourablie interteined. And the first night being vacant, as in which he sought rather rest in his lodging than recreation in anie academicall pastimes, strange fire-workes were shewed in the great quadrangle, besides rockets and a number such maner of devises."

On the second and third evenings of his visit

"after sumptuous suppers in his lodging, he personaly was present with his traine in the Hall; first at the plaieing of a pleasant comedie intituled Rivales: then at the setting out of a verie statelie Tragedie named Dido, wherein the Queen's banket (with Eneas narration of the destruction of Troie) was livelie described in a march-paine patterne; there was also a goodlie sight of hunters with full crie of a kennell of hounds, Mercurie and Iris descending and ascending from and to a high place, the tempest wherein it hailed small confects, rained rose-water, and snew an artificiall kind of snow, all strange, marvellous and abundant."*

The actors were mostly Christ Church men, and the MS. of "Dido, Tragœdia, acta in Ædе Christi Oxoniæ pridie Idus Junii A.D. 1583" is to be found in the Wake archives of the Christ Church Library.

William James (1584–96) went from his studentship at Christ Church to be Master of University College, where he is said to have shown his "wisdom and policy in restoring and bringing to happy quietness the late wasted, spoiled and indebted College." He returned to

* Holinshed, 25 Elizabeth.

Christ Church as Dean, and twelve years afterwards became Dean of Durham, and afterwards Bishop, on Matthews' promotion to York. As Bishop he was unpopular, and it is said that a reproof administered by James I. who was his guest in 1617 on his progress to Scotland—a reproof probably caused by the Bishop's contest with the citizens about their privileges and parliamentary representation—broke the old man's heart. He died, aged 75, four days after the royal visit.

As Dean, he was a liberal contributor to the re-establishment of the College Library, and Strype has preserved some very interesting letters relating to the "stint" or allowance of bread to the members of the foundation, which were addressed by him to the Lord Keeper Puckeridge. He was evidently a shrewd man of business.

In 1592 Elizabeth paid her second visit to Oxford, and was lodged in Christ Church. There were the inevitable plays in the Hall, and a sermon in the Cathedral, preached by the Dean. One point of interest arises with regard to the plays. A committee was appointed to manage them, consisting not only of members of Christ Church, but also of the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, and these University officials exercised authority within the College walls. They issued an edict forbidding scholars who could not be admitted to the Hall to make outcries or "undecent noyse" about the Hall stairs or in the quadrangle, under the penalty of imprisonment or other penalty, according to the discretion of the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors.* This measure stands in strong contrast to the jealously guarded liberty of the Colleges against

* A. Clark, *Register*, ii. 230.

any intrusion of the University authorities within their walls, which has been customary in later times.

Thomas Ravis (1596–1605) was the first Westminster Student who rose to be Dean. He was subsequently Bishop of Gloucester and of London, and was buried in St. Paul's. During his reign as Dean came the re-opening of Duke Humphrey's Library by the munificence of Sir Thomas Bodley (1602), and the first election of Burgesses for the University (1603). In the latter year William Laud was Proctor. Ravis was a learned divine, and was one of the translators of the Bible.

Fuller writes that he

"left the memory of a grave and good man behind him. Nor must it be forgotten that, as he first had his learning in Westminster school, so he always continued, both by his counsel and countenance, a most special encourager of the studies of all deserving scholars belonging to that foundation."

It will be well to pause here, and to give some account of the life of the foundation during the first half-century of its existence.

The Dean and eight Canons, all appointed by the Crown, formed the Corporation. They owned and managed the property, and nominated the members of the foundation with the exception of the three Regius Professors and the bedesmen. The College chapel was the Cathedral Church of the Diocese, but the Dean always claimed to be his own Ordinary, the Visitor of the society being the Crown and not the Bishop. The Bishop had his separate estate, and Gloucester College was assigned as his palace.*

* "Gloucester, now Worcester, College had been granted as a

The College buttery book shows that the places on the foundation were at once almost filled, and in the earliest Chapter roll (at the beginning of 1548) are found:—20 Theologi, the oldest being 43, the youngest 20 years of age; 20 Philosophi primi vicenarii, the oldest 40, the youngest 18; 50 Philosophi secundi vicenarii, the oldest 23, the youngest 13; of these 10 were Domini, or Bachelors of Arts, and the rest Undergraduates. This section was subsequently sub-divided into 20 Philosophi secundi vicenarii and 40 Discipuli.

Thus in the first roll there were included 90 out of a maximum of 100 Students, and persons of very various ages had been appointed to fill the different classes, but as vacancies occurred in later years, the juniors passed up to fill the higher ranks, and new-comers would begin their careers as Discipuli and rise gradually from class to class. The Theologi were intended to be in Priests' Orders, though obviously at the first they were not all so.*

palace when the see was at Oseney, and Bishop King had used it as such, but the King dying (Jan. 28, 1547) before the translation under these letters was completed, the Bishop resigned all the endowments of the see into Edward VI.'s hands, who by an indenture (Sep. 13, 1547) re-endowed the see, but with the omission of Gloucester College, which therefore remained with the Crown, passing in 1559 into the hands of Sir T. Whyte, founder of St. John's College."—Ogle's *Royal Letters addressed to Oxford*, p. 160 *n*.

Was it then between 1547 and 1557 that the house in St. Aldate's, still called Bishop King's palace, was inhabited by him? He died Dec. 4, 1557.

* There were certain "faculty" Students, who were not obliged to take Holy Orders, and who ranked next to the Theologi. These are mentioned as early as 1557. They were termed "faculty" Students from the "facultas" or special privilege granted to them by the Dean and Chapter, by which they gained exemption from the obligation to enter Holy Orders. Their numbers varied; they were sometimes as many as five, but more usually three. The

Below the Students came the complete staff for the services of the Church and College. There were 8 Ministri in Ecclesia (chaplains), 8 Clerici (lay clerks), 8 Pueri Musici, 2 Æditui, and 2 Vergibajuli. There were also 4 Promi (butlers), 1 Obsonator (manciple), 1 Auditor, 3 Coqui, 1 Lixa (scullion), 2 Janitores and 4 Operarii.

Distinct from these were 20 Bedesmen, who appear to have been appointed by the Crown, sometimes on the nomination of the Dean.

For the proper government of this large community certain officers were appointed each year. The first list of "Officiarii" occurs in 1552. It consists of a Sub-dean, 3 Præfecti ærarii (subsequently merged in a Treasurer), 2 Censors and Readers of Natural and Moral Philosophy respectively, 2 Readers in Dialectic, 1 Reader in Rhetoric, and 1 Reader in Mathematics.*

Such was the College staff, and there is no doubt that from the very first the College opened its doors to non-foundationers, who participated in the advantages of its teaching. In the Dean's entry book for 1547 appear the names of 4 Commoners, and the neighbouring Broadgates Hall afforded lodgings for other young men, who though not actually on the books of Christ Church were under tuition there. Such were Sir Philip Sidney and William Camden, who were pupils of Dr. Thomas Thornton, and when Thornton became a Canon, Camden crossed over to Christ Church—having already taken his degree—and shared Thornton's lodgings.

holders were apparently intended to graduate in Law or Medicine, but this condition was not always enforced.

* The Censor Theologiæ is not mentioned in this list; yet he is found, as an officer distinct from the Sub-dean, as early as 1549.

No statutes having been drawn up by the founder, it was necessary for the Dean and Chapter to make regulations with regard to all matters concerning the government of the College, and occasionally resort was had to the royal Visitor, who acted through the Lord High Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, to enforce authority. The Dean and Chapter met every Sunday afternoon between 3 and 4 o'clock to transact business, and absentees were subject to a fine "duodecim denariorum."

A list was issued of "What everie Scholler ought to have before he enter into the House."

It is as follows:

"1. Inprimis a Tutor, one of the Divines or of the Philosophers primi vicenarii.

"2. Honeste apparell and cumblye for a scholler.

"3. Psalterium of Leo Juda translation.

"4. His catechisme sett forthe in the Kyng's booke by harte.

"5. Grace accustomed to be said at meales by harte.

"6. Theie must also tayke an othe to the kyng."

And in another list there is added:

"Bedding sufficient and meet for one man."

The psalter here mentioned, together with the catechism and grace, are comprised in the "Liber Precum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Christi Oxon," which was habitually used at College Prayers from these early days till the end of 1861. Leo Juda was one of the authors of the "Versio Tigurina," which was completed by Bibliander and Pellican, and published by Froschover at Zürich in 1543. It differs considerably from the

Vulgate, and the choice was possibly due to the puritan sympathies of Dean Sampson, or to the Chapter of Edward VI.'s days.

Strict attendance of the scholars was enjoined at disputations and lectures, and at College Prayers, morning prayer being at the early hour of five o'clock. Neglect of these duties was punished by fines. Residence was rigorously enforced, except in cases where leave of absence was formally granted, and two Students and no more were allowed to travel abroad.

A system of examination of the scholars—answering in some respects to the "collections" of later times—was early established. We read a solemn announcement of this ordeal in the Chapter register of 1550:

"*In Dei nomine Amen.* Per præsens publicum instrumentum cunctis evidenter appareat et sit notum quod anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo, anno Regis Edvardi Sexti Dei gratia Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regis fidei defensoris ac in terris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremi capitis quarto, convocati sunt per Subdecanum consentiente Decano Mr. Goodman et Mr. Cratforde Censores in Ecclesia Christi Oxon ad examinandam juventutem in eadem Ecclesia secundum statutum* ejusdem domus quod imperat ut ad finem biennii singuli examinentur quantum profecerint tam litteris quam moribus. Sciant igitur omnes ad quos hoc præsens scriptum pervenerit quod his quorum nomina subscribuntur tale habetur Subdecani et Censorum judicium."

Then follows a list of twelve scholars who are named. The first "nec moribus nec litteris profecit." Of the others "non profecit," or "mediocriter," or "parum profecit,"

* This must have been a decree made by the Dean and Chapter. See Gardiner's letter of 1554, quoted below.

or simply "profecit" is recorded. In one case alone—that of Westphaling, afterwards Bishop of Hereford, is "bene profecit" allowed. The document is signed by the Sub-dean and Censors.

A strict regulation was made as to dress during the time of Tobie Matthews:

"That every scholar and student shall wear and go in fytt and decent apparell according to their severall degrees, according to the lawes and statutes of this realme and the ordinances and statutes of this Universitie. And that they shall not weare any whyte and pricked doublets, no galligaskins or cutt hose, no weltyed nor lacyd gownes, upon the severall paynes nexte before rehersyd."

The price of "commons" was carefully regulated by a small committee, which met every week on Friday. The recreations of the students were not forgotten, but it was decreed, with due regard for economy, that for "the pastime in Christmas and the plays" there should be allowed a sum of six pounds; that is, twenty shillings each for two comedies, and forty shillings each for two tragedies. One tragedy and one comedy were to be in Greek; the other two in Latin.

Discipline among so many students of such different ages does not seem to have been easily maintained; and as early as 1554, in the second year of Mary's reign, came the following stern letter from the Chancellor, Bishop Gardiner:—

"To the Students of Christ's Churche in Oxforde.

"I commende me to you and beyng credeblie enformed of your willfull disobedience towards your Deane and Sub-deane there in refusing to observe their lawfull and honeste injunctions I mervaill not a lytle therof that you

beyng men of knowledge and learninge will practyse such factious stubbernes to the evill example of others and to the empayring of gode and decente ordre in that whole universitie. Wherfore as your Visitor in that I am Chaunceller of Englande I requyre and charge you and everye of you duly and forthwith to receyve and obey suche lawfull and honest iniunctions as your Deane and in his absence the Sub-deane shall requyre you to observe. Assuring you that if further complaynte of your mysdemeanours hereafter be made and proved the same shal be so punyshed that all others, namely the heads of such confederacies, shall have cause continually to abstayne from lyke presumtion and disobedience. Allso other decrees made by the Deane and Chappiter there, or hereafter to be made, ye shall duly kepe and observe as statutes untyll suche tyme that it shall please the Kynge and the Quene's hieghnes to sende you statutes indented according to the foundation of that Churche. And these my letters shall remayne with the Deane and Canons there, you having a copye, yf ye will. Fare ye well. From the Courte the ffyrste of Septembre 1554.

"Ste Winton Cancell."

Probably Dean Marshall had found a good deal of trouble in dealing with a body of students appointed during his predecessor's time, when Edward VI. was on the throne; and the Visitor's warning was repeated two years later by Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York, who succeeded to the Chancellorship on the death of Gardiner. It is interesting to note that the promised statutes were never given; until 1858 the foundation was governed absolutely in accordance with the regulations of the Dean and Chapter. The Students on the old roll, which continued until that year, in taking the time-honoured oath to obey all the statutes "ad-

huc sancita vel in posterum sancienda," were consoled when making so large and vague a promise by the explanation always given by the Dean that the words meant nothing, as no statutes had ever been drawn up.

The buildings of the College remained almost as Wolsey had left them throughout this period. In addition to what he had erected, and the small remnants of the monastery, there were the ancient buildings of Peckwater Inn and Canterbury College, both as yet in their original condition, though in 1600 some new rooms were added in Peckwater for the reception of gentlemen commoners.* The "Great Quadrant," as it is termed in the Chapter books, was quite unfinished on its north side, and was without any terrace, Probably there was rough grass in it, and it was more or less of a thoroughfare. Among the Chapter orders we read that

"no student, scholar, chaplain nor servant or any belonging to the House shall lodge any dogg except the porter to dryve oute cattell and hogges out of the House."

And again

"that none of what state soever keepe gelding or other beste in the Quadrant or any open space about the House otherwise than in the meade at the tyme appoynted."

As late as 1870 an iron staple with ring for fastening horses survived on the wall of the Deanery, a proof that in earlier days horses could be brought thither.

From the very beginning of its history Christ Church could boast of distinguished sons, and was in touch with the religious and intellectual life of England. We have

* In Wolsey's time, the old lodgings of Peckwater Inn were made "houses for masons to work in."

seen to what high places the Deans of this period were promoted. In the first list of Students appears the name of Bernard Gilpin, the apostle of the north ; and Westminster soon supplied eminent men. Among them was Martin Heton, Bishop of Ely, and his schoolfellow and lifelong friend William Gager. Gager's name connects Christ Church with the Elizabethan stage, and with another Student once famous as a dramatic writer, George Peele.

Gager resided for many years on his Studentship, occasionally getting leave of absence for travel, and was eminent as a writer of Latin Poetry in celebration of various events of academic interest. But he also gained a high reputation as a dramatic writer. Wood describes him as the best comedian of his time, and ranks him even above Shakespeare. The Latin plays of "Dido" and of "Rivales," which were acted (as has been mentioned) before Albertus a Lasco, were from his pen, and were put upon the stage by George Peele, who received eighteen pounds for his services on the occasion. Gager's controversy with Dr. Rainold of Queen's College—afterwards President of Corpus—may still be read with interest. It related to the morality of stage plays. Dr. Rainold condemned actors altogether as infamous persons ; and inveighed particularly against men appearing on the stage in women's clothing, quoting at length the book of Deuteronomy and the example of Achilles, &c. Gager is also credited with having maintained at the Oxford Act of 1608 the somewhat stern thesis that husbands might lawfully, if not laudably, beat their wives.

George Peele was not only skilled as an arranger of plays for the stage, but he was also a writer of very

considerable power. The "Arraignment of Paris" and "David and Bethsabe," though repugnant in many ways to modern taste, contain passages of singular beauty and pathos. Peele was a friend of Shakespeare's, and is said to have acted with him at the Blackfriars theatre; but he was a man of dissolute habits, and died in obscurity at an early age. Yet he deserves to live for ever in the exquisite lines which Thackeray has in part enshrined in "The Newcomes." Sir Henry Lee, the Queen's Champion, had sworn to appear in the tilt-yard yearly, on the day of Her Majesty's accession, till he should be disabled by age. On November 17, 1590, being then in his 60th year, he appeared for the last time, and after the exercises of the day were over, resigned his office to the Earl of Cumberland. It was for this occasion that Peele's "Polyhymnia" was written, closing with the pathetic words of the sonnet, which was sung before the Queen:

"His golden locks Time hath to silver turned;
O! Time too swift, O! swiftness never ceasing.
His youth 'gainst time and age hath ever spurned,
But spurned in vain; youth waxeth by increasing.
Beauty, strength, youth, are flowers but fading seen;
Duty, faith, love, are roots and evergreen.

"His helmet now shall make a hive for bees,
And lover's songs be turned to holy psalms;
A man at arms must now serve on his knees,
And feed on prayers, which are old age's alms;
But though from court to cottage he depart,
His saint is sure of his unspotted heart.

"And when he saddest sits in homely cell,
He'll teach his swains this carol for a song:

Blest be the hearts that wish my sovereign well ;
Curst be the souls that think her any wrong.
Goddess, allow this aged man his right,
To be your bedesman now, that was your knight."

Peele came to Oxford from Christ's Hospital, and entered at Broadgates Hall before he was appointed to a Studentship at Christ Church. He was one among many others—including, as we have seen, Sir Philip Sidney—who were members of that society though closely connected with Christ Church.

Broadgates Hall, which stood on the site of Pembroke College, was a portion of the estate of Christ Church, and it seems to have afforded a convenient lodging for young men who could not be received within the narrow accommodation of Christ Church as it then existed, or who desired a less strict rule of life than would be there allowed. So it came to pass that the richer men, belonging to the class which a few years later furnished the gentlemen commoners of Christ Church, were matriculated as members of Broadgates Hall, though going for their instruction across the street to their tutors within the College gates. Such was Richard Carew of Antony, a poet and antiquary, Sidney's intimate friend, who matriculated at the age of 11 in 1566, two years before Sidney joined the University at the age of 14. Sidney himself left Oxford in 1571 to escape the plague which was then raging there. Among other literary men of this period, in addition to Camden who has been already mentioned, was another friend of Sidney's, Richard Hakluyt, the famous author of the "Collection of English Voyages, Navigation, Traffics, and Discoveries," who was elected from Westminster in 1570. And in 1571, in the same election as

William Gager, there came from Westminster the scholar and antiquarian, Leonard Hutten, "vir multijugæ eruditionis et antiquarius eximius." Hutten was, like Gager, an admirable writer of Latin verse, and his compositions will be found in all the Oxford collections of this period; but he was also a student of antiquity, to whose quiet and unobtrusive labours, pursued during 33 years of tranquil life spent in his canonry at Christ Church, the compiler of the earlier history of the College must needs owe a deep debt of gratitude. His unpublished MS. (Liber Successi: Dec: Canon: Alumn:), which is preserved in the Chapter House, gives a full account of the foundation from the time of St. Frideswide, and a list of the Bishops, Archdeacons, Deans and Canons. The list of Students is not completed. This catalogue has been continued, often with autographic signatures, down to the present day. Hutten also wrote a work on the Antiquities of Oxford, which has lately been edited by Mr. Plummer, from Hearne's text, for the Oxford Historical Society.

In the year in which Hutten became canon (1599) Robert Burton, the author of the "Anatomy of Melancholy," originally a member of Brasenose College, was appointed to a Studentship. From that time till his death in 1639 he resided in Christ Church, holding for many years the living of St. Thomas in Oxford, as well as another benefice.

CHAPTER III

THE STUART PERIOD, DOWN TO THE CIVIL WAR

Deans: John King, 1605–11; William Goodwin, 1611–20; Richard Corbet, 1620–29; Brian Duppa, 1629–38; Samuel Fell, 1638–48.

The seventeenth century covers very eventful and very dissimilar epochs in the life of Christ Church, as in the life of Oxford and of England. It includes the distintinguished men who held the office of Dean during the reigns of the first two Stuart kings; all of them, it should be noticed, educated at Westminster School. These are followed by the two Deans appointed under the Commonwealth, men by no means unworthy of their high position: and then comes the brilliant series of rulers of Christ Church in the years after the Restoration, among whom there is intruded for a brief space of time the solitary, obscure, and incongruous figure of James II.'s Roman Catholic Dean, John Massey.

To Dean Ravis succeeded *John King* (1605–11), nephew and heir of Robert King, the first Bishop of Oxford. He seems to have been a man not only of high merit but also of wide popularity. Among the many preferments which he held was that of domestic chaplain to a former Dean, Archbishop Piers; and it is said that he was appointed to the Deanery in compliance with a petition presented to the King by thirty-two

Students of the House, who described him as "clarissimum lumen Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ." He was a learned divine and a famous preacher; the "king of preachers," as the dull witticism of James described him. During his short tenure of the Deanery he was Vice-Chancellor for four years. He showed his loyalty to Christ Church by the fact that no fewer than five of his sons were educated there. He was preferred to the Bishopric of London in 1611, and held that see till his death in 1621. He has the unenviable distinction of having been the last Bishop to burn a heretic. One Bartholomew Legate, a sectary, was tried for heresy in the Consistory Court of London before King and three other Bishops (Andrewes, Neile, and Buckeridge) and assessors, and was found guilty. Bishop King thereupon delivered him over to the secular arm, and he was burnt in Smithfield on March 18, 1612.

King was buried in St. Paul's with the simple word "Resurgam" on his gravestone. A curious anecdote in connexion with this is told by Granger:

"When Sir Christopher Wren was describing the ground plot of the new church of St. Paul he spoke to one of the men who attended him to bring him something to mark a particular spot. The man took up the fragment of a tomb, which lay among the ruins, upon which was inscribed 'Resurgam.' Sir Christopher Wren was struck with the inscription the moment he saw it, and interpreted it as a good omen. The event was answerable, as he lived to see the church finished. I conjecture that this was part of the stone under which Bishop King was buried; and my conjecture is more than probable, as this word occurs in no other epitaph in Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's*."

William Goodwin (1611–20) was by three years the senior of his schoolfellow, whom he succeeded at the Deanery. Like King, he four times served the office of Vice-Chancellor; and like him, he was a remarkable preacher. He was called upon to deliver at St. Mary's the funeral sermons on Prince Henry, Sir Thomas Bodley, and Anne of Denmark, Consort of James I.; and on the first of these occasions "he was not only moved himself, but also moved the whole University and City to shed fountains of tears." In 1611 a visit was paid to Oxford by Frederick, afterwards King of Bohemia, who had been recently married to the Princess Elizabeth. He was entertained in a befitting manner, and "was pleased with his own handwriting to matriculate himself a member of the University (sub tit: Æd: Chr:) with this symbol, 'Rege me, Domine, secundum verbum tuum.'" Although a distinguished man, Goodwin was not promoted to a Bishopric, and was the first of our Deans to die in his office. He was buried in Christ Church, and a monument still existing in its original position (a rare privilege) shows his half-length effigy cut in stone and painted to the life, with this inscription:

> "Est satis in tumulo nomen constare petenti.
> Goodwinus jacet hic; cætera fama dabit."

Few Deans of Christ Church have been noted as wits or humorists; but *Richard Corbet* (1620–9), the friend of Ben Jonson, who stayed with him while a resident Student, was a brilliant exception to the rule. A more unconventional, unstarched dignitary can scarcely be conceived. Though on the foundation at Westminster, he failed to win his election to Christ Church, and was

for a time at Broadgates Hall, before obtaining a nomination to a Studentship. King James selected him for the post of chaplain "on account of the quaintness of his preaching and the brightness of his fancy." He was noted for his conviviality and jollity, and his practical jokes. Wood says that those who knew him intimately often declared "that he loved to the last boyes play very well." Some well known anecdotes are told of him by Aubrey which illustrate this eccentric side of a character of marked individuality. One may be quoted.

"After he was Doctor of Divinity, he sang ballads at the Cross at Abingdon. On a market day he and some of his comrades were at the tavern by the Cross. . . . A ballad singer complained he had no custom; he could not put off his ballads. The jolly Doctor puts off his gown, and puts on the ballad singer's leathern jacket, and being a handsome man, and a rare full voice, he presently vended a great many and had a great audience."

Other strange stories are told about him, but it would be a mistake to judge Dean Corbet from Aubrey's caricature. He was a man of high character and of brilliant and versatile parts. His "Poetica Stromata" contain some admirable poems; the lines on "Tom," after the bell had been re-cast, and the "iter boreale," are thoroughly good reading. He ruled over Christ Church during an eventful period of English history. In 1625, owing to the prevalence of the plague in London, the Parliament met in Oxford, and the nobility and Privy Council were lodged at Christ Church; and in 1629 Charles I. and his Queen paid their first state visit to Oxford, and were lodged, not at Christ Church, but at Merton. Corbet was made Dean at the com-

paratively early age of 37. Eight years later he was raised to the see of Oxford, and from Oxford was translated to Norwich, where he died at the age of 55.

The life of *Brian Duppa* (1629–38) connects the reign of Elizabeth with that of Charles II. Born in 1588, he lived to give his dying blessing in 1662 to Charles, who knelt by his bedside to receive it. He was buried in Edward the Confessor's chapel in the ancient Abbey where he had worshipped as a Westminster scholar, when under Lancelot Andrewes, then Dean, he had received his first instruction in Hebrew, and had achieved his first distinction, having "the greatest dignity the school could afford, to be the *Pædonomus* at Christmas, lord of his fellow scholars." From his Studentship at Christ Church Duppa passed to a Fellowship at All Souls College, and after travelling abroad and making many influential friends he became Dean of Christ Church in 1629. He owed much to the patronage of Laud, who recommended him, in 1638, for the see of Chichester, and as tutor to the Prince of Wales, then 8 years old. Three years afterwards he was promoted to Salisbury. Then came the troubled times of the civil war. He followed the fortunes of Charles till the King's death, and afterwards lived in retirement at Richmond, interesting himself in the preservation of the episcopal succession during the Commonwealth, and even admitting men privately to Holy Orders. Tenison was one of those who were ordained by him. At the Restoration he was made Bishop of Winchester, but he was then an old man, and died two years later. He was very highly esteemed by Charles I., who, when his own liberty was threatened, and it became necessary to provide for the safety of his sons,

expressly commanded that their religious instruction should be placed in the hands of the Bishop of Salisbury. He was a munificent benefactor to Christ Church and All Souls, as well as to the dioceses which he had governed, and at Richmond he founded an almshouse in 1661 in fulfilment of a vow made during the King's exile. Duppa's tenure of the Deanery is noted for the formal acceptance by the University of the Laudian Statutes, and for those extensive alterations made within the Cathedral, which survived with scarcely a change till 1856. A royal visit to Oxford in 1636, while Laud was Chancellor, is described at great length by Wood. The University was overflowing with loyalty, and had just published a volume of fulsome adulation, entitled *Coronæ Carolinæ Quadratura*, in celebration of the birth of the hapless Princess Elizabeth, Henrietta Maria's fourth child, who had been born on December 28, 1635. All the Academical scholars, from the Vice-Chancellor downwards, contributed verses, chiefly Latin elegiacs, to commemorate the event, and as the birth had occurred just after Christmas, allusions are introduced in many of the compositions which verge on profanity. Even the Regius Professor of Divinity, J. Prideaux, Rector of Exeter, ventured to write :

"Dum tibi natalem celebramus, Christe, triumphum,
Regia stirps musas ad nova festa vocat.
Auspicium felix, ubi juncta Maria Mariæ
Virgineas epulas jactitet esse suas."

But it was reserved to a Fellow of the same College, Nathaniel Terry, to go beyond his Rector, with this astounding couplet :

"Aspice, parturiunt Virgo, Regina, Mariæ :
Edit Virgo Deum, nupta Maria Deam !"

The King and Queen came to Oxford on August 29, bringing with them Charles, Prince Elector Palatine, and his brother Prince Rupert, sons of another Elizabeth of unhappy destiny. The King's first act within the walls of Christ Church, after conducting the Queen to the Deanery, was to repair to the Cathedral with his lords, and there, before entering,

"he knelt down at the large south door, where lifting up his hands and eyes, with his long left lock (according to the then mode) shelving over his shoulder, he did his private devotions to his Maker."

In the evening a comedy called "Passions Calmed, or The Settling of the Floating Island," was performed in the Hall. It is thus described by Wood:

"It was acted on a goodly stage reaching from the upper end of the Hall almost to the hearth place, and had on it three or four openings on each side thereof, and partitions between them, much resembling the desks or studies in a library, out of which the actors issued forth. The said partitions they could draw in and out at their pleasure upon a sudden, and thrust out new in their places according to the nature of the screen, whereon were represented churches, dwelling houses, palaces, &c., which for its variety bred very great admiration. Over all was delicate painting, resembling the sky, clouds, &c. At the upper end a great fair sheet of two leaves that opened and shut without any visible help. Within which was set forth the emblem of the whole play in a very sumptuous manner. Therein was the perfect resemblance of the billows of the sea rolling, and an artificial island, with churches and houses waving up and down and floating, as also rocks, trees, and hills. Many other fine pieces of work and landscapes did also appear at sundry openings

thereof, and a chair also seen to come gliding on the stage without any visible help. All these representations, being the first (as I have been informed) that were used on the English stage, and therefore giving great content, I have been therefore the more punctual in describing them, to the end that posterity might know that what is now seen in the playhouses at London belonging to His Majesty and the Duke of York, is originally due to the invention of Oxford scholars."

Next day, after much sight-seeing, and a banquet and play at St. John's with Laud as host, the royal party witnessed the performance of Cartwright's "Royal Slave" in Christ Church Hall, R. Busby acting Cratander. It seems to have gratified them immensely, for later in the year the Queen sent to Oxford to borrow the actors' dresses and the stage scenery for a performance of the play at Hampton Court. It was there acted under Cartwright's supervision, but with less success than at Oxford.

It is difficult for a modern reader to understand why Cartwright's plays won such wide popularity in their day, The "Royal Slave" is by no means an attractive piece; Cratander is a prig, and the other captives are coarse ruffians. But Cartwright himself, a Westminster Student and a favourite of Duppa's, was a man of much culture and an eloquent preacher; so highly esteemed, that when he died of the camp fever at Oxford in 1643, Charles, who was then in Oxford, put on mourning for him on the day of his funeral. He said that since the muses had so much mourned for the loss of such a son, it would be a shame for him not to appear in mourning for the loss of such a subject. Cartwright, who was

buried in the north aisle of the Cathedral, was only 32 years old at his death.

Samuel Fell (1638–48) completes the series of Deans down to the time of the Commonwealth. He had been canon of Christ Church, and Margaret Professor of Divinity, and among other preferments held for a short time the Deanery of Lichfield. Fell was very loyal to the King, and suffered much for his loyalty. He was imprisoned for a time in London, was deprived of all his preferments except his rectory of Sunningwell, and at that place he died on hearing of his Sovereign's execution. The date, February 2, 1648 (O.S.), which is inscribed on his gravestone close by the altar in Sunningwell church, shows how short the interval was between the King's death and his own. It was during his custody in London in the spring of the previous year that the Chancellor (the Earl of Pembroke), Visitors, and some soldiers

> "with a great rabble, went to Christ Church, and entering the Deanery, which had previously been forced open, the Chancellor desired Mrs. Fell to quit; but she refusing that kind proposal had very ill language given her by him. She was carried into the quadrangle by the soldiers in a chair—as were also certain gentlewomen that were then in the lodgings—the children were carried out on boards. The Chancellor and Visitors then sending for the Buttery book dashed out the names of the Dean and many others, appointing other persons in their place."

Mrs. Fell and her family were conducted from their ignominious position in the quadrangle by Morley, Payne, and Hammond, three of the canons, to an apothecary's house opposite All Souls College, where a temporary home was found.

The rough treatment accorded to the Dean and Mrs. Fell was probably due to the attitude of uncompromising hostility to the Parliamentary party which was displayed by the Christ Church authorities. Some years previously—in September 1642—Lord Saye and Sele, the new Lord Lieutenant of Oxfordshire, had been sent to Oxford with a body of soldiers with instructions, among other things, to search for and secure the College plate. Dean Fell at once had his own plate packed in trunks and conveyed "to Mrs. Weekes' house at St. Ebbes," where it was unfortunately discovered. It was taken away under a guard to the Star Inn, and Christ Church was at once surrounded by soldiers to prevent more treasure leaving. That night the College was also searched and more plate was found "hid in walles behinde wainscote and in the sellers. It was carried away in the night time in a great cowle betwixt two men to my Lorde's lodging at the Starre," and was afterwards transferred to Broughton Castle.

Another episode is recorded in Allestree's *Life*. Allestree was an intimate friend of the Fell family, and possessed a key of the Deanery. Some of Lord Saye and Sele's men broke into Christ Church Treasury, but on searching a great iron money chest there found nothing inside it but a single groat and a halter. Enraged at their disappointment and the trick played upon them they made for the Deanery, from which the Dean and his family were then withdrawn, ransacked the rooms, and put their spoil together in a chamber which they locked, intending to return next morning to take it away. But when they came they found it had all been removed. On inquiry they found that Mr. Allestree's key had been made use of; he was accordingly seized,

and would have been severely dealt with, had not the Parliamentary forces been suddenly called away from Oxford by the Earl of Essex.

Dean Samuel Fell's name will always be associated with the slender shaft and exquisite fan tracery of the Hall staircase, a remarkable survival of thoroughly good Tudor architecture at so late a date. He also completed Duppa's work within the Cathedral, and made some progress in the erection of the north side of the great quadrangle. The anxieties of the civil war were felt in Oxford during his reign as Dean; and Charles I. was twice received at the Deanery. On the first occasion he came with his two sons Charles and James, together with Princes Rupert and Maurice, after the battle of Edgehill. In the following year he came again to Oxford, the Queen joining him there in July. He was lodged at the Deanery, and she at Merton College. To enable him to visit her without going through the public streets a door was opened in the wall of the garden of the lodgings now occupied by the Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology, so that the King might pass to the south of the old buildings of Corpus, and then by the chapel at Merton, to the Queen's apartments in the Warden's lodgings. This doorway may still be seen in the eastern wall of the canon's garden, though on the other side it has been blocked up, and no tradition has survived to show its purpose. It was during this second visit that the Parliament met at Oxford in January 1644, the session being opened by the King in Christ Church Hall. The two Houses met subsequently for business in the Public Schools, the Lords occupying some of the Schools on the first floor, the Commons sitting in the Convocation

House. The Chapter House served for the King's Council Chamber.

During the Stuart period, down to the outbreak of the civil war, the condition of Christ Church was in all ways prosperous. Its numbers were well kept up. The roll of Students was filled each year at the December audit, and in addition to the nominations by the Dean and Chapter, and the elections from Westminster school, there came frequent royal mandates, which must have caused some inconvenience, naming persons for admission to Studentships or Scholarships, as they are indifferently called. Moreover the number of independent members was now large, and in Peckwater Inn there had been erected, at the beginning of the century, a block of rooms at the north side, specially intended for the reception of gentlemen commoners. These rooms appear to have been added to gradually during the next half-century, either by the renovation or by the complete rebuilding of old Peckwater, so that the quadrangle became such as it is represented in Loggan's drawing, and must have provided accommodation for a good many undergraduates, in addition to the lodgings for the canons of the 7th and 8th stalls. The overflow of independent members occupied rooms belonging to the Dean and canons "as to the Dean and Chapter shall seem fit, with the consent of the Dean or prebendary whose lodging it is." The Students had their own rooms, assigned to them severally as members of the foundation, and might let them, if not themselves in residence. The members not on the foundation included the following classes: (1) Noblemen, and "Commensales ad mensam Doctorum,"

sometimes called Canon Commoners, or Doctors' Commoners. They comprised the eldest sons of peers and other specially privileged persons. This group of undergraduates, some of whom were of very tender age—they were occasionally admitted at the age of 12—dined on the dais with the canons. (2) Commensales superioris ordinis, called also Gentlemen Commoners, or High Commoners, or Upper Commoners. (3) Commoners, sometimes called *under*, in contrast with the *upper*, Commoners. (4) Pauperes scholares, of different grades, such as Battlers and Servitors, a somewhat indefinite class. The attendants on the richer undergraduates had a tendency to increase unduly, and strict rules were necessary to limit their number. Four only were allowed them at the High Table, and quarrels occasionally arose between these attendants and the servants of the canons with whom they dined; quarrels relating, it would appear, to the appropriation of the food left at the conclusion of the meal. A definite sum (two shillings and fourpence a week) was paid for the maintenance of each servitor, and their food consisted of what remained when their master's meal was over. These servitors were not identical with the "pauperes scholares," for a Chapter Order of 1601 enjoins that no inferior person "whether commoner, attendant or poor scholar" shall be permitted to lodge in any room without formal permission. Probably there were many attendants on the richer undergraduates who were living in the College without any proper authority, and from time to time this encroachment had to be dealt with. Thus in 1636 (possibly owing to Laud's vigilance) the Dean and Chapter issued a strict code of regulations on the subject:—

1. That there shall be no servant belonging unto any man of any condition within this Church, but he shall be approved by the Dean or Sub-dean.

2. That there shall be but 30 servitors which shall wait upon the students, chaplains and under commoners of this Church, allowed by the Dean or Sub-dean.

3. That the names of the servants or servitors allowed be given up to the butler, and that the butler suffer no other but those whose names are or shall be from time to time given to him by the aforesaid authority, to receive any bread or beer out of the buttery; and the cook shall not deliver any meat out of the kitchen to any but such as are allowed as aforesaid.

4. That the said servitors, so allowed, shall always go in gowns, and lie within the precincts of this Church.

5. That the said servitors attend at the public prayers, and the exercises of lectures and disputations according to their standings.

6. That all servitors which are not allowed as before, which do not go in gowns, that lie not within the precincts of this Church, within 14 days be dismissed from this Church, and those that entertain any not so allowed, after the said dissmission, be punished by the Dean or Sub-dean.

The connexion between Christ Church and Westminster was well maintained, a brilliant succession of young men being elected yearly from the one royal foundation to the other. But some trouble seems to have arisen from the excessive hospitality accorded every year to the new arrivals from the school by their brother Students already in residence, hospitality which has survived till within present memory, in spite of severe edicts against it. As early as 1611 the Dean and Chapter formally decreed "that the entertainment of the new

Westminster Scholars be utterly taken away for ever, because it has grown to an intolerable excess." This order was repeated in 1627, but with so little effect that the royal Visitor, at the instigation, it is said, of Laud, sent, in December 1638, the following stern epistle to the Dean and Chapter:

"We are informed that you have for some years suffered a very ill custom to continue in our Collegiate Church, for whereas there are divers scholars chosen to be Students of that House and divers others that live there as commoners, but the greatest part of the scholars are chosen from the school at Westminster, there is a supper maintained yearly called a Westminster supper, at which all (and only) Westminster scholars do meet. This supper we hold to be a very ill custom, and no way fit to be continued; for first it is a thing not allowable in government that any party of men should have a several meeting, which is a direct way to faction and combination, and it teaches the rest of the students in such a society to bandy themselves together against the other, that they may not be thought to be neglected. Secondly, such a meeting must needs cause more expences than many students are able to bear, especially in such chargeable times as these are. Thirdly, it gives occasion of much drinking and riot, and consequently of all the bad effects which follow such excesses, besides no small disorder in leaving or keeping open the gates of the College for ingress and egress for resort to that disorderly meeting at later hours than are fit; and most usually (to add to this disorder) this supper must be kept on a Friday night, against both the Canons of the Church and the laws of this our Realm, and to the great scandal of all sober men that hear of it. These are therefore to will and require you, the Dean and Chapter, to suppress that supper, or meeting, by what name soever

it be called, and to call the students together and command them in our name that they presume not at any time hereafter to resort together to any such meeting either in the College or out of it. And you are to register these our letters among the orders and decrees for the government of that Church, as you and every one of you will answer it at your uttermost peril. And these our letters we will shall be binding not only upon yourselves, but upon your successors, that this ill and dangerous custom may never rise up into practice again."

The Laudian statutes, which introduced such fundamental changes in the University, were formally accepted in 1636. It was through Laud's influence that one of the canonries of Christ Church was annexed to the Regius Professorship of Hebrew. He had also intended to encourage the study of rhetoric by annexing another canonry to the Public Oratorship, but this project was not confirmed by Parliament. In 1630, on becoming Chancellor, Laud sent a letter to Frewen the Vice-Chancellor in which he lamented the decay of "formalities," "the outward and visible face of the University," and bade his deputy call together the Heads of College and Halls, and urge them to strictness in exacting the use of the proper academic dress by all members of the University. It was probably this injunction that led to a Chapter order enjoining the use of "caps" instead of "hats" at chapel, at exercises, and at meals, under a penalty of sixpence for the first default and one shilling for the second. The Chapter also was roused—perhaps under the stimulus of the same strong personality—to improve the music of the church, ordering

"the singing with the organ the *Venite exultemus,* the *Te Deum,* the *Benedictus,* or some such like hymn every Sunday and Holyday morning throughout the year,"

and

"that the old and laudable custom of singing Grace in the Hall shall presently after dinners and suppers be still continued by the chaplain, and for the more solemn performance thereof that some new songs be made by the organist."

The choirmen also were to be assembled once at least every month, "to see who have been careful and who negligent, and so to encourage and correct them as there shall be cause."

The custom of bowing to the Lord's Table on leaving the choir, a custom still observed by the Dean and canons, was probably introduced by Laud's injunction. The existing mode of administering the Holy Communion in the Cathedral, where the elements are brought round to the communicants kneeling in their places, is more doubtfully ascribed to him One may conjecture that it was rather due to puritan influences. A similar custom, however, obtained at Pembroke College as late as 1864, and at St. Mary's it still survives, together with the use of the "houseling" cloths, which are placed on the desks of the stalls round the chancel. Probably the "houselings" continue a pre-reformation tradition. Whether the arrangement of the communicants there is based on monastic custom, or represents a puritan innovation is very doubtful. It is sometimes even ascribed to Laud, who certainly, in December 1636, forbade the celebration of the Eucharist in the body of the church of St. Mary's. He might then have

allowed this use, which is reverent and edifying, and singularly tranquil. Keble describes it:

> "Sweet, awful hour! The only sound
> One gentle footstep gliding round,
> Offering by turns on Jesus' part
> The Cross to every hand and heart."

The influence of Laud's friendship with Duppa may assuredly be clearly traced in the very great changes in the interior of the Cathedral which Duppa carried out while Dean. The Church had been little touched since Wolsey's time. Duppa removed from the choir the ancient stalls, probably those which are now in the Latin chapel, one of which bears a cardinal's hat on its finial, and clothed the choir with a heavy wooden panelling of oak which shut out all view of the adjacent aisles. The space thus screened off was fitted with new stalls and seats, and the organ closed its western end. Many monuments were shifted from the pillars to make room for the new wood work; more were removed from the floors, where they marked the graves of former times, the choir being new paved with black and white marble squares, and the rest of the church with a hard white stone. Many of the old tombstones were carried away altogether, and put to vile uses. The ancient glass, containing stories of St. Frideswide's life and the arms of benefactors, was removed, and the Gothic tracery was cut away—the north windows of the Latin chapel alone were spared—and mean two-light windows were inserted in their places, filled with new Dutch glass by Abraham van Linge, representing Scripture subjects, and each with the name of the donor at the bottom. One of these windows still survives at the west end of the north aisle of

the nave. It represents Jonah sitting under the gourd, with a beautiful picture of the city and harbour of Nineveh in the background. The donor's name can be partly traced: *Carolus Sunbanke Præbendar. Windsor. S.T.P. hujus Eccl. olim Alumn. D.D.*

The chapels to the north of the choir were shut off from the transepts by heavy stone screens of very curious design, shaped as inverted arches, so as to form, with the Norman arches above them, complete circles, with solid masonry only partly pierced below.

The church remained almost as Duppa left it until Dean Liddell's time; and the stalls of the Dean and canons, as well as two handsome brass chandeliers of the same date, may now be seen in Cassington church.

From a photograph by the [*Oxford Camera Club*

THE CATHEDRAL, AS VIEWED FROM THE LIBRARY

CHAPTER IV

THE CIVIL WAR AND THE COMMONWEALTH

Deans: Edward Reynolds, 1648–51, and 1659–60; John Owen, 1651-9.

Of the excitement and misery of the civil war Christ Church had its full experience. It was persistently loyal to the King, and when Whistler, the Burgess for the city of Oxford, was arrested for discouraging the citizens from the support of the royalist cause, no better gaoler could be found than Dean Fell, and no better prison than the deanery. In the deanery garden, tradition says, Mrs. Fell buried the silver and gilt maces of the University Bedels, which have never been recovered. The Chapter subscribed what money they could to the King's support and gave up such plate as had escaped Lord Saye and Sele, to be coined into money at the mint set up at New Inn Hall. The King's presence within the walls of the College made it naturally a centre of royalist activity from the date of his arrival after Edgehill. Before that time the Parliamentary troops had passed and re-passed, and we read of troopers' horses quartered for the night in Christ Church meadow—in September 1642—and of the troopers wandering in through the unguarded gates to

see the Cathedral and its painted windows, the new windows of van Linge's workmanship.

"They much admired at the idolatry of them," writes Wood, "and a certain Scot among the rest said 'I marvayle how the schoolars can go to their bukes for those painted idolatrous windows,' and such like scoffing words, but offered no violence to them."

There was a solemn thanksgiving in the Cathedral at evensong on February 3, 1643, for the taking of Cirencester by Prince Rupert on the day before, at which the University authorities attended, and the doings of the troops and the preparations for the defence of the city absorbed the attention of the whole University.

"Most of the Academicians," wrote Dean John Fell in the Latin copy of Wood's *Annals*, "had now exchanged the gown for the military coat, and square caps for the helmet; and with the exception only of those who by old age were rendered unfit for the service of war, or of those who retained their sacred habit as a cloak for their sloth or timidity, all the rest were trained and went to the field of battle, or were on guard night and day, ready for any attack, and became intrepid and well-disciplined soldiers for the defence of the city. . . . Out of the one hundred Students of Christ Church (and if the commoners were to be added the number would be proportionably increased) twenty were officers in the King's army, and the rest almost to a man were indefatigable in protecting the dwellings of the inhabitants of this place; and the same may be said of the other Colleges."

The great quadrangle was a drilling ground, and 400 scholars were reviewed in the meadow. John Fell himself, then a young Student of 19, held the commis-

sion of an Ensign. His two bosom friends, Allestree and Dolben, also served. Dolben had the same rank at the same age, and rose to the higher rank of Major, and after receiving a dangerous wound in the shoulder from a musket ball at Marston Moor, he encountered further hardships in the siege of York, over which see he was destined in happier times to rule as Archbishop of the northern Province.

In 1647 came the Parliamentary Visitors, and Christ Church fared badly at their hands. Reynolds, soon to be Dean, was one of them, and Samuel Fell, who was Vice-Chancellor as well as Dean, did not show much dignity in his behaviour towards them. Indeed almost the first incident after their arrival reminds one of the conduct of a class of unruly schoolboys towards an unpunctual master. The University authorities had been cited to appear before the Visitors in the Convocation House on a certain morning between the hours of 9 and 11. But the Visitors, as a preliminary to this interview, went to St. Mary's to hear a sermon, and Mr. Harris, one of their number (soon to be appointed President of Trinity College), delivered so lengthy a discourse that the hour of eleven, carefully watched for by the Academicians, struck without the Visitors making their appearance. At the last stroke of the clock out went Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, and Proctors, preceded by the Bedels, and in the Pro-Scholium, just by the door of the Divinity School, they encountered the procession of the Visitors on their way to the Convocation House. "Room for Mr. Vice-Chancellor," shouted a Bedel, and room was courteously made. The Vice-Chancellor bowed and said, "Good-morrow, gentlemen; 'tis past eleven o'clock," and so went on his way.

The attitude of the University authorities was one of stubborn resistance to the Visitors, their Commission being altogether questioned. Dean Samuel Fell rather scorned them. All, with one exception,

"were far inferior to him in standing or in degree; and Mills being one of the Students of Christ Church and so consequently under his lash and went bare to him, he did not think fit, as Dean of that House, and especially as being Vice-Chancellor, to stand bare to his scholar."

One result of this uncompromising attitude was that Fell, as has been already mentioned, was summoned to London, and after a short imprisonment was deprived of his Deanery. Iles, Gardiner, and Morley were removed from their canonries, and soon afterwards the same punishment was inflicted on Hammond, Payne, and Sanderson. Then came the expulsion of Mrs. Fell from the Deanery, already described, and the rule of the puritan Deans began. They were two in number: Edward Reynolds the Presbyterian, and John Owen the Independent. Both were men of no ordinary stamp.

Edward Reynolds (1648–51 and 1659–60) had been Postmaster and Fellow of Merton College, and held a high position in the Presbyterian party. He was nominated to the office of Vice-Chancellor shortly before succeeding Fell as Dean of Christ Church, but on his refusal to take the Independent engagement in 1650 he was deprived of his preferments, and John Owen took his place. In 1659 the Parliament gave him back the Deanery, but at the Restoration, though he was made one of the King's chaplains, he was obliged to retire from Christ Church, and became Warden of Merton, his old College. A year later he was made

Bishop of Norwich, and on his death in 1676 was buried in the chapel which he had built there, adjoining the Bishop's palace.

John Owen (1651–9) was a native of Oxfordshire, son of a country clergyman, and graduate of Queen's College. He was a man of real learning and piety, and had adopted Independency on thoroughly conscientious grounds. It would be most unfair to estimate his character by the accounts given of him by partisan writers. Wood, who wrote from personal knowledge, but under the bias of bitter prejudice, is always very severe upon him; and Browne Willis, writing in George I.'s reign, describes him as "that noted, canting, Independent, time-serving hypocrite." By another writer he is spoken of as

"a man of courtly manners, of undaunted courage, and of high attainments, whose works, numerous as they are, are considered worthy to be reproduced in their full extent (21 volumes)."

Probably this estimate comes nearest to the truth. Owen was highly esteemed by Oliver Cromwell, and acted as his Vice-Chancellor for several years. Wood spitefully describes him in this office as somewhat of a dandy.

"Dr. John Owen, when Vice-Chancellor, had always his hair powdered, cambric band with large costly band-strings, velvet jacket, his breeches set round at knee with ribbons pointed, Spanish leather boots with cambric tops, &c.; and all this was in opposition to a prelatical cut."

Yet in the picture, said to be of contemporary date, which hangs in Christ Church Common Room, Owen is

represented as Vice-Chancellor, dressed in the most formal academical robes, preceded by seven bedels, all in gowns and carrying their proper maces. His personal courage was shown by his mounting the stage at St. Mary's on the occasion of the Act, and turning "Terræ filius" by main force out of the rostrum, when he was speaking disrespectfully of the University authorities, and the Vice-Chancellor's men were too timid to interfere in obedience to his orders. In 1654, on the alarm of a royalist insurrection in Wiltshire, Owen, being then Vice-Chancellor, raised a troop of scholars, "and at their head did often appear mounted, with a sword by his side, and a case of pistols before him." He was a man of fine presence and high authority, and was actually elected as sole Burgess for the University, though his claim was unfavourably regarded by the Committee of Privileges. He was a learned man, and a patron of learning, and showed wise tolerance in his government of Oxford. Without his tacit connivance it would not have been possible for John Fell, Dolben, and Allestree to maintain the Church of England services throughout the time of the Commonwealth, at Beam Hall, opposite Merton Chapel; and when Pocock, the famous Orientalist, after losing his canonry at Christ Church for refusing to take the engagement, was in danger of being deprived of his living of Childrey, Owen interposed promptly and effectually on his behalf. In 1659 the Parliament took away his Deanery, and he retired for a time to his native village of Stadhampton. But he was too great a man to remain long in obscurity, and he afterwards lived and preached in London till his death in 1683, when he was buried, amid profound demonstrations of respect

from the whole body of non-conformists, in the grave-yard at Bunhill Fields.

The period of the Commonwealth was by no means an inactive time at Christ Church. The Deans were able men, and there was much to be done in re-establishing the tranquillity and re-organising the studies of the College, after the turmoil of the civil war. It is a remarkable fact that the entries of undergraduates were numerous throughout these years; there seems to have been little falling off in numbers, though the character and behaviour of the men must have undergone considerable change. The canons indeed, who had taken the place of the ejected royalists, were men of no distinction; Edward Pocock, who was himself not an intruder, was the one learned member of the Chapter; and his case furnishes a good example of the uncertainties and difficulties of the time. Pocock, the first Oriental scholar of his day, was Laudian Professor of Arabic, when the death of Dr. Morris, Regius Professor of Hebrew, and canon of the 6th stall, occurred on March 27, 1648. The King had already annexed that stall to the Hebrew chair, and now, on the recommendation of Dr. Sheldon and Dr. Hammond, he nominated Pocock as Morris's successor; though, as he was at the time a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, he could not issue letters patent. The Parliamentary Committee, however, knowing Pocock's merits, adopted the royal nomination. But it happened that just at this time Dr. Payne, canon of the 4th stall, was ejected from his canonry, and his lodgings were assigned to Pocock; Dr. Morris's lodgings, to which Pocock thought he had an undoubted right, being given to Mills, a civilian and layman, who stepped into Payne's place. Pocock complained of the

injustice of the arrangement, but to no purpose; and after all it was no great matter, for in 1651 both Pocock and Mills were ejected from their canonries for refusing to take the Independent engagement; and it was not till June 1660 that he received his letters patent and his proper canonical stall from Charles II.

There is a tradition in Christ Church that the ancient fig tree in the garden of the Regius Professor of Hebrew —the "Arbor Pocockiana," as it used to be called—was brought by Pocock from Aleppo. But he was not at Aleppo later than 1634. It is therefore more probable that the venerable fig trees which are found in this and several other Christ Church gardens were procured, rather than brought, by him from Syria, and date from his first occupancy of the Hebrew Professor's lodgings, that is, from the Restoration, and not earlier.

The buildings of the College, in spite of the efforts of Samuel Fell, were still in a quite unfinished state. Fell had made considerable progress towards the completion of the north side of the great quadrangle, and the timbers of the roof and floors had been set up. But these we read were removed by the puritan canons, and converted to their private use, chopped up for firewood and such purposes. No building operations are connected with this epoch of Christ Church history, and probably the funds of the College were at a low ebb. The frequent allusions in the Chapter books to the question of arrears show how severe the financial pressure had been during the civil war, and how great had been the difficulty of collecting rents when the war was over.

In the Cathedral inevitable changes took place. One of the earliest Chapter Orders enjoins "that the

Orgaines in the Quire of this Church be taken downe." But it does not appear that much injury was done to the fabric, or that Duppa's work was seriously injured. Wood indeed declares that the stained windows, "as anti-Christian, diabolical and popish," were at once broken, and he credits Wilkinson, who had been intruded into the first stall, with a chief part in the work of destruction; stating that he, when the windows "were taken down, was so far from having them laid up and preserved that he furiously stamped upon many parts of, and utterly defaced them." But a good deal of van Linge's glass was undoubtedly preserved, though it was probably taken down and stored away. Several of his windows survived till Dean Liddell's time, besides the Jonah window, and considerable fragments of old glass are still to be found in the College stores. The Bishop King window with its unique picture of Oseney Abbey was removed for safety by a member of the family and brought back in 1660.

Much attention was paid to the religious services of the College. Daily prayers on weekdays were to be between 5 and 6 in the morning, and at 5 in the evening, instead of the former Cathedral prayers at 10 and 3 o'clock. On the Lord's Day there were prayers morning and evening, but the hour is not given. The Directory had taken the place of the Prayer Book, but the Church of England chaplains do not appear to have been dismissed, and some consideration was shown for them. They were ordered to do their turns, or if they desired to be excused from the service they might find proper deputies. They seem to have been somewhat inclined to resent the rule of their new masters, in spite of this leniency, for in another Order they are instructed

to "show all due respect and reverence for the Governors of the House, as the Students of their respective degrees do, or ought to do, by the customs of the College."

The Censors received special payments for their help in the services; the Censor of Moral Philosophy, Mr. Segary, a member of Magdalen Hall, who had been intruded into a Student's place, was paid £14 15*s.* 4*d.* for two quarters "for his paines in prayinge in the Chappell in the morning,"and another sum was added soon afterwards "for his further encouragement in prayinge" after the death of his brother Censor, Mr. Godfrey.

There were sermons in Christ Church for the University every Thursday at 4 P.M., closely following upon some religious exercises which were performed in the lodgings of the President of Corpus.

Great care was taken to ensure the attendance of all members of the House at prayers on the Lord's Day and on weekdays; and the Tutors, who were to be approved by the Dean, and "such as are not excluded by the Order of the Visitors," were enjoined to

"reade constantly to their scholars in approved classicall authors, and cause them to come together and pray with them privately everie night; and also exemplary to them in observing the publique ordinances, and call them to an accompt everie Lord's day concerning what they have learned from the word prayed."

Discipline was carefully maintained; and we find records of the flogging of undergraduate scholars for grave offences. In Wood's life of Henry Stubbe, a Westminster Student and a man of considerable distinction in after life, it is recorded that Stubbe

"after abusing the Censor morum, Will: Segary, that noted disciplinarian, in a speech that he uttered, was for so doing, and his impudence in other respects, whipped by him in the Public Refectory."

Stubbe was 19 years old at that time. In the same year (1650) we find this entry in the Chapter book :—

"It is ordered by the Dean and Chapter that Devoye for divers gross and scandalous acts shall be publicly whipped in the House, and afterwards sent home to his Father for a twelve months, and not to return then without a testimonial of his civil and orderly carriage during the time of his absence."

This "Devoye" was probably W. Devaux, a Westminster Student one year senior to Stubbe. It is a curious coincidence that both these men perished by drowning; Devaux on the Goodwin sands in 1657, and Stubbe in the Avon near Bath in 1676. In illustration of this practice of flogging,* the reader will perhaps recall that Warton in his life of Bathurst, President of Trinity College, who died in 1704 at the age of 84, writes of him that

"he delighted to surprise the scholars, when walking in the grove at unseasonable hours, on which occasion he frequently carried a whip in his hand, an instrument of academical correction then not entirely laid aside. But this he practised on account of the pleasure he took in giving so odd an alarm, rather than from any principle of approving, or intention of applying, an illiberal punishment."

* Mr. Rashdall (*Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ii. p. 623) states that "the sixteenth century was the flogging age *par excellence* in the English Universities." He points out that Wolsey's statutes for Cardinal College order it as a punishment for scholars under the age of 20.

Severe edicts were issued with regard to dress and behaviour. It was ordered

"that the Dean and Sub-dean and Censors do take special care to reform all scandalous fashions of long and powdered hair, and habits contrary to the statutes of the University and that decency and modesty which is necessary for young students."

Also

"that some order be taken to punish the abuse of swearing, viz., that for the first and second time he that sweareth be fined 12d. for every oath; and when convicted the third time shall be proceeded against as a scandalous person."

There was also an attempt made to enforce a strict sumptuary law. It was ordered in 1653,

"for the repressing the immoderate expences of youth in the College, that no gentleman commoner shall battel in the buttery above 5 shillings weekly; no under commoner above 4 shillings weekly; no scholar of the House above 3 shillings weekly; and the butler is hereby required to give notice to the Dean or Sub-dean at the end of the week of such as shall exceed this allowance."

In 1656, the use of the Latin tongue was strictly enjoined.

"Whereas by several orders both of the Committee of Parliament and the Visitors of this University all scholars and students are commanded to use the Latin tongue whensoever they discourse and speak together in the Hall at dinner and supper and all other meetings there; it is this day ordered by the said Dean and Chapter that the said Orders be (and are hereby) revived and re-inforced, with strict injunction that they be observed accordingly by

all of this College herein concerned, giving them further notice that whosoever shall be found faulty herein shall be proceeded against by them as contemners of wholesome discipline and public authority."

In 1653 the Visitors made very strict orders relating to Tutors and their pupils, requiring from the Head of each College the names of all the Tutors, and of the pupils under them, as well as a list of the undergraduates who had no Tutors. They deprived of their office such Tutors as they esteemed not godly men, and nominated others in their room. They also at this time issued an interesting order as to "Repetition" of sermons. All Bachelors of Arts and undergraduates in Colleges and Halls were required every Lord's Day

"to give an account to some person of known ability and piety (to be appointed by the Heads of the said Houses some time between the hours of 6 and 9 in the evening) of the sermons they had heard and their attendance on other religious exercises that day."

The Heads also, or deputies, of the said societies were ordered to be personally present at the performance of these exercises, and to take care that it be attended with prayer, and such other duties of religion as are proper to such a meeting.

This was a dreary prospect for Sunday evenings, for dons and undergraduates alike, and one is not surprised to read the following Chapter Order of September 17, 1653, relating to a certain Westminster Student and recent Master of Arts, who was so little of a puritan that he had just before incurred the censure of the Chapter for being "at a tippling house in this city of Oxon on the Lord's Day," and for "traducing the

government of the House publicly in the Hall." The Dean and Chapter went into the Hall to give formal notice of "their intention of the Repetition of the sermons every Lord's Day in the evening in the chapel," on which occasion Mr. A—— "did publicly affront the Dean and Chapter in the Hall and at their coming out." He was therefore

"again admonished the second time. And it is also further ordered, that if the said Mr. A—— do not within one month next acknowledge his miscarriages to the Dean of Christ Church at their audit house, they will further proceed against him."

Mr. A——, who was a son of an Irish peer, probably did not care much for the Christ Church authorities. He soon entered the army and became a Major, and strangely enough met his death by drowning, like the two other Westminster Students who had incurred the wrath of the Chapter.

CHAPTER V

FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE REVOLUTION

Deans: George Morley, 1660; John Fell, 1660–86; John Massey, 1686–8.

With the Restoration Christ Church threw off the depressing burden of the puritan rule, and once more assumed its proper position in Oxford as a centre of loyalty and devotion to the Stuart dynasty and the Anglican church. An epoch of splendour and prosperity followed, checked only by the short interlude of Massey's intrusion.

The first Dean appointed by Charles II. was *George Morley* (1660), but he held the office only for a few months, from July to November. Morley was a learned and a generous man, whose memory is deservedly venerated in Christ Church. He was a Westminster Student, and for many years resided on his studentship, till he accepted the post of chaplain to Robert, Earl of Carnarvon. He enjoyed the intimacy of Lord Falkland, and was among the famous men who were Falkland's friends and visitors at Great Tew. In 1641 he was made canon of Christ Church, "the only appointment he ever desired," writes Wood. In the civil war he accompanied the King as chaplain, and

devoted the income of his first year as canon to the expenses of the war. Deprived of his canonry in 1648, he went away with many other royalists into exile. He was at Antwerp and at Breda with Sir Edward Hyde, and for two years with the Queen of Bohemia at the Hague. Wherever he was "he daily read the Church service, established a weekly catechism, and administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper every month." His reward came with the King's return, for which he had prepared the way by a secret mission to England, being selected, it is said, from his being inclined to the opinions of the Calvinist party. He was at once replaced in his canonry (the 8th stall) at Christ Church, to be transferred on July 27 to the Deanery; and in the following October he was made Bishop of Worcester. From Worcester he passed in 1662 to the more splendid see of Winchester. He was then a man of 65, but he held his preferment for 22 years, dying at Farnham castle in 1684, at the age of 87. The epitaph on his tomb was written by himself. An unmarried man, he was a liberal benefactor of Winchester, New College, and Christ Church; and his arms may be seen on the vaulting of our great gate. He was noted as a wit, and one saying of his is well known. "What do the Arminians hold?" asked a country gentleman: "All the best bishoprics and deaneries in England," was his reply. Morley was a man of very abstemious habits; his custom was to rise at five o'clock, go to bed at eleven, and eat but once a day. A letter from him, preserved among the Chapter records, gives a charming impression of his character. It was written in answer to a letter of thanks for one of his generous gifts:—

"Reverend and well beloved Bretheren,

"I have received the letter you sent me by your reverend brother the Dean of Westminster, and in it too great an acknowledgment and too many thanks for the little and few services I have hitherto been able to do you, which I do assure you would have been more and greater if I had been as able as willing to serve you. For although many transplanted from your royal seminary have been every one of them a far greater ornament to it than I am, yet never any that was planted in it had or could have a greater kindness for it than I have. And truly when I consider who I am, and what I have arrived to, and that as well without my seeking as without my deserving of it, I think myself obliged to do all I can for those that are worthy of it, as being the best amends I can make for mine own unworthiness: there being nothing I can see in myself, why it hath pleased the Divine Providence to make me what I am and to give me what I have, unless perhaps it be this, that He had formerly given me a heart to scatter rather than to heap, and to lay out upon others rather than to lay up for myself, which yet I have found by my own experience the surest way never to be in want. The same sum therefore I sent you by the Dean of Westminster, I do hereby once more and in a more solemn manner promise to send you yearly, as long as I live and am in no worse a condition than I now am, which I add because there is no certainty of anything here in this world. That which I desire on your parts to be done for me is only to pray to God that when I have done all the good I can for others I may not be myself a castaway. And this I shall expect as the best requital you can make for anything that hath been or can be done for you by

"Your ever affectionate friend, brother, and servant,

"Geor: Winton.

"Lond. *Dec.* 10, 1662."

Dean Morley's reign at Christ Church was so short that before dealing with the changes which the Restoration brought to the foundation, it will be best to give some account of his famous successor, perhaps the most prominent of all the Deans of Christ Church.

John Fell (1660–86) was the son of Dean Samuel Fell. He was not, like his father, at Westminster school, but was nominated to a Studentship at the exceptionally early age of eleven, in 1636, and took his Master of Arts degree at the age of eighteen. He served, as has been narrated, in the civil war, as an ensign in the royalist forces, together with his friends Dolben and Allestree. All three were deprived of their studentships by the Parliamentary Visitors, but they remained in Oxford during the Commonwealth, except that Allestree, who was a good traveller, was sent away from time to time on secret missions to the royalists on the continent; and the house of Fell's brother-in-law, Dr. Willis, at Beam Hall, afforded a convenient place for the maintenance in private of the Church of England services throughout the period of the usurpation.* The room which was used for this purpose can still be identified; its high windows, facing away from the street, would hide its inmates from inquisitive eyes.

At the Restoration, the three friends became canons of their House, Fell succeeding Ralph Button in the second stall, the prebend which his father had enjoyed for 20 years. Dolben was placed in the 4th stall, Allestree in the 8th; their admission taking place on one and the same day, July 27, the date of Morley's

* These services appear to have been held first in Dr. Willis' rooms in Canterbury College.

installation as Dean. But Fell remained as canon for a very short time. On November 30 he was installed as Dean, on Morley's promotion to Worcester. He was then 35 years of age. Fifteen years afterwards he became Bishop of Oxford, and held both dignities till his death on July 10, 1686. He was also Master of St. Oswald's Hospital at Worcester.

John Fell was a born leader of men. He stands out with undisputed pre-eminence among the Oxonians of the Restoration, with a strong, masterful personality; a man of large views and high ideals; a scholar and divine, and of deep personal piety; a consistent and enlightened patron of learning; generous and even lavish in money matters; not quite a pleasant man to have to deal with, unless one agreed with him, but possessing the utmost capacity for rule; abounding in energy and versatility; of inflexible will, and exercising a strong and all-pervading influence over the whole life of the University and of Christ Church. Wood, who had his own reasons for disliking him, declares that

"he left behind him the character of a *valde vult* person, who by his grasping at and undertaking too many affairs relating to the public (few of which he thoroughly effected) brought him untimely to his end."

This is a grossly unfair estimate, but probably Fell's death at the age of 61 was due in part to his unsparing labours and unrestful temperament.*

A breach between Wood and Fell had been caused by the Latin translation of Wood's great work, which

* It is to John and not to Samuel Fell that the well known adaptation of Martial's epigram, "I do not like thee, Dr. Fell," applies. See Professor Mayor in *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, 4, 313.

had been published under Fell's superintendence, with the insertion of many passages contrary to Wood's wishes. Nor was he the only person aggrieved; the philosopher Hobbes objected to some changes which Fell had inserted, and published a remonstrance, on which Fell denounced "irritabile illud et vanissimum Malmesburiense animal," and took credit to himself for his forbearance "ut viro pessime de Deo, hominibus, literisque merito locum inter literatos relinqueret." Such were the manners of the time.

Fell's own chief literary work—the edition of St. Cyprian, in which he was assisted by Bishop Pearson—was not published till 1682. He also wrote memoirs of his old friends Hammond and Allestree, and published valuable editions of ancient authors, among them Aratus and Eratosthenes.

Much had to be done within the College to remedy the evils, and redress the injuries, which had been wrought under the Commonwealth.

The canons who had been intruded by the Visitors were at once ejected, and the Chapter as reconstituted in July 1660 under Morley as Dean, consisted of the following members:

1st stall. Jasper Mayne, in the room of H. Wilkinson, ejected.

2nd stall. John Fell (and then Sebastian Smith), in the room of Ralph Button, ejected.

3rd stall. Richard Gardiner, restored, in the room of Chr. Rogers, ejected.

4th stall. John Dolben, in the room of Jo. Poynter, ejected.

5th stall. William Creed, in the room of Henry Cornish, ejected.

6th stall. Edward Pocock, restored, in the room of John Mills, ejected.

7th stall. John Wall, who had held his canonry continuously since 1632.*

8th stall. Richard Allestree, in the room of H. Langley, ejected. (Morley held this stall for a few weeks after the Restoration, before becoming Dean.)

Here, then, was a united body, many of whom had suffered much loss under the Commonwealth, and who were now animated by a common purpose to restore the good fame and ancient traditions of their House.

The services of the Church were at once renewed. The organ was replaced, and soon a new organ, of Father Smith's workmanship, some of which still remains, was set up on the choir screen. Surplices were again worn, though some rough protests were raised against their use. A monthly celebration of Holy Communion was established, preceded by a collation, to be performed by the Dean and canons in their turn. Latin Prayers were continued morning and evening, in addition to the Canons' Prayers. The numbers of the undergraduates, which had not fallen seriously,† were quickly augmented, and there was a large accession of members of the noble and wealthy families of England. The Students' places were again filled by loyal churchmen, and Wood's estimate does not seem excessive when he states that there were some 35 or 36 gentlemen commoners, and 8 or 10 noblemen, besides the Students, commoners, and others. In 1669 the Dean's entrance

* Wood states that Cornish was put in Wall's place in 1648; but this seems to be an error.

† In December 1658, chambers and commons were paid to the Treasurer for 66 independent members of the House. To these all members of the foundation must be added.

book gives 2 noblemen, 9 gentlemen commoners, 22 commoners, and 15 battlers and servitors for the admissions of that year. The numbers vary considerably in different years, and probably many, coming at an early age, resided for a lengthened period.

In the Chapter books many minute regulations are recorded which illustrate the arrangements of the College. At the Christmas of 1660, by which time Fell was Dean, his two chief friends Dolben and Allestree appear in the College roll, the one as Sub-dean and Censor Theologiæ, the other as Treasurer, and the three, immortalised by their picture which hangs over the north fireplace in the Hall, worked together with one will.* It is interesting to notice that in the same list Mr. Locke appears as Greek Reader.

The Canons' table was again set up in the Hall "as hath been accustomed heretofore in this House." It had dwindled to a single meal. The proper fasting and gaudy days were ordered to be observed. The number of servitors, who seem to have again unduly multiplied, was rigidly restricted. The chamber-women or bedmakers were to be 12 and no more, and none of them to be under 40 years of age, "and whosoever shall bring in an assistant upon what pretence soever shall be immediately expelled and made incapable of ever serving in the House." No laundress was to enter College, but the servitors were to bring the clothes to the gates between 8 and 10 on Monday morning, and the clean linen was to be delivered at the gates between 2 and 4

* At the Act of 1664, "Terræ filius" insolently spoke of them as the jack, the chub, and the red herring. Fell was a long lean man; Dolben, fat and round; Allestree lean, with a red face and a very mall head.

on Saturday afternoon. The porters were to see that these orders were obeyed, and also that

"no seamstress, stocking menders, and applewomen, or any suspicious persons of any kind be admitted into the College, or any carts, horses, or burthens, be carried through it."

Fell determined to proceed vigorously with the work towards which his father had done so much before the troubles of the civil war, the completion of the chief buildings of the College. He asked for subscriptions far and wide. The plate money from noblemen and gentlemen commoners was devoted to the building und, the King gave a patent for an earldom worth about £1000, towards the Tower over the great gate, and the result of this energy was soon seen in the completion of the north side of the great quadrangle, a work accomplished in 1665. Lodgings for two canons were made there, and the lodgings nearest the Deanery were assigned to Fell's bosom friend Allestree. The buildings all round the quadrangle were now surmounted by an Italian balustrade, a portion of which may still be seen on the western front. A broad gravelled terrace was raised with stately flights of steps in the middle of each of the three sides, and in the centre of the quadrangle was constructed the circular basin of water with the globe and fountain, as shown in Loggan's drawing, which served as a reservoir for College uses. A Chapter Order of July 22, 1670, records the fact and mentions the donor:

"Whereas Richard Gardiner, Doctor in Divinity, and Senior Prebend of this Church, hath at his own cost and charges in the Great Quadrangle belonging to this Church

made one large bason 40 foot in the diameter of stone work and lead well soldered, and in the midst thereof a rock of stone with a large globe covered with lead and gilt, and a fountain of water conveyed through the centre of the said rock and globe by a pipe running through the mouth of a serpent into the said bason, expending in the same work the sum of £250 and upwards, to the great beautifying and adorning of the said Quadrangle ; in consideration whereof it is this day ordered by the said Dean and Chapter, and they do for themselves and their successors promise and grant that the said bason, rock, globe and fountain shall from time to time be ever hereafter repaired, maintained and kept by the said Dean and Chapter and their successors."

But alas for human promises! Twenty-five years later a statue of Mercury, the body of lead, the head and neck of bronze, supplanted the globe. It was the gift of canon Anthony Radcliffe, whose name is inscribed on the northern side of Peckwater, and the time-honoured name of Mercury was attached henceforth to the bason itself, and was destined to have a longer life than even the statue of the god.

The earth excavated from the centre of the quadrangle when the terrace was formed went with the building *débris* to furnish part of the materials for the Broad Walk, which was completed about the same time, with its row of 72 elm-trees on either side.

In 1669 a disastrous fire occurred which destroyed Dr. Gardiner's lodgings adjoining the chaplains' buildings, and gravely imperilled the Library and Chapter House. This accident led to the reconstruction of that portion of the College, and to the erection of a somewhat mean block of buildings eastward of the passage

from the cloister to the meadow, which survived, under the name of Fell's Buildings, till 1863. New lodgings for a canon were built between Kill-Canon and Peckwater, to take the place of those which the fire had destroyed, and they were allotted to the third stall, the "præbenda vivax," as it was afterwards called from the remarkable longevity of its occupants.

Sir Christopher Wren's design for a Gateway Tower was next proceeded with, and it was completed in 1682. It will be noticed that in Loggan's drawing, dated 1675, this Tower is still unfinished, while the quadrangle and the new lodgings for the canon are both completed. As soon as the Tower was ready for its tenant, great "Tom" was hoisted up and hung in its new home, and from thence it rang out for the first time on the anniversary of the Restoration, May 29, 1684.

Such were the chief architectural works carried out by John Fell. But his strong personality impressed itself in all sorts of ways, not only upon Christ Church, but upon the whole University and diocese. Alone of all the Deans, he held the Bishopric of Oxford together with the Deanery; and this he did for more than ten years, being consecrated in the chapel of Winchester House at Chelsea on February 6, 1676. As Bishop he spent a large sum in repairing the palace at Cuddesdon, which had been erected by John Bancroft in Charles I.'s reign, and had suffered in the civil war. Fell was Vice-Chancellor from 1666 to 1669, and presided at the opening of the Sheldonian theatre at the Act in the latter year. Up to this time the Act had always been performed in St. Mary's church; but Fell was largely instrumental in encouraging Archbishop Sheldon to build the theatre, and so avoid the inconvenience and

irreverence attending the performance of the Act, and other academical ceremonies, in a consecrated building. The development of the University Press was also largely due to Fell's energy and practical intelligence.* The Sheldonian theatre provided for the first time an official home for the work of the press, and Fell exercised close supervision over all the details of the printing, being assisted in his efforts by Sir Joseph Williamson, Sir Leoline Jenkins, Principal of Jesus, and Dr. Yates, Principal of Brasenose. We find him securing the services of a Dutch founder, Herman Hermansen of Amsterdam, and writing urgent letters to Williamson when secretary to Lord

* It is a curious fact that up to this time the University Press possessed no settled home. Books had been printed in Oxford as early as the 15th century, and Lord Leicester when Chancellor had erected a press and appointed a printer to the University, one Joseph Barnes, who was succeeded in 1617 by the first of the Lichfields, whose names appear as official printers till 1658. In that year Samuel Clarke, M.A., was appointed Architypographus, and he was succeeded by Martin Bold in 1669. But the work of printing was carried on in private premises; Leonard Lichfield's press was, during the civil war, in what is now called Queen Street. The Sheldonian theatre provided the first permanent and official home for the Press. When the theatre was not needed for Academical ceremonials, the work of printing was conducted on the main floor of the building; but when the Act or some other function was held, the presses were removed to the basement, and the papers to the large space above the ceiling. The books were issued "e Theatro Sheldoniano," with an engraving of the building on the title-page. But the double use of the theatre caused much inconvenience, and in 1714 the present Clarendon building was erected for a printing house, from the profits of the sale of the *History of the Rebellion*, the copyright of which work had been presented to the University. In this building, with two annexes (the one, a house standing on the site of the Indian Institute, the other, that portion of Wadham College which adjoins the King's Arms Hotel), the Press had its home till 1830. For much of this information I am indebted to the courtesy of the Controller of the University Press, Mr. Horace Hart.

Arlington and the Duke of Buckingham, ambassadors to the States General, entreating his help to expedite the forwarding of cases of type from Dordrecht, which had been detained at Antwerp in consequence of the war. In 1677 a Malay translation of the Gospels and Acts was issued, under his supervision, from the press; and this was published as part of a scheme in which Fell took a singularly deep interest, for the evangelisation of the natives of India and the far east. He pressed this duty upon the East India Company, and invited their co-operation to form a fund for the education of students at the English Universities to be specially trained for work in India. He offered to train four scholars at Oxford at his own expense, and a definite agreement was made with the Company in 1682. Robert Boyle helped with money and sympathy; but this early evangelistic movement, for which Fell deserves the chief credit, was arrested in its development, partly or chiefly in consequence of Fell's death. A set of Arabic types was presented by him to the University Press, together with many other handsome founts, which are still in use.

As Vice-Chancellor, Fell was a strong ruler and a severe disciplinarian:

"continually hauling taverns or alehouses," writes Wood, "but finding mostly his own men, whom he would favour, but punish others. . . . He endeavoured to carry all things with a high hand; scorned in the least to court the Masters when he had a mind to have anything passed the Convocation. Severe to other Colleges, blind as to his own."

He was very strict in enforcing the use of academical dress, and attempted to make a reality of the examinations for degrees, which he personally attended, inter-

posing with questions if he were not satisfied. He also insisted on the attendance of students on the lectures given by the Inceptors in Arts, which had degenerated into a mere form. He was not only strict in enforcing rules, but he was very tenacious of privileges. Mr. Nichols, who was his chaplain for many years, declares that the only occasion when he saw him in a passion was when Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, held an ordination in Lincoln College chapel without asking permission from Fell, as Bishop of the diocese.

Of the privileges of his House, too, he was a stout asserter, and fought in 1674 for the right of the canons whenever they preached before the University to deliver their sermons in the Cathedral, and not at St. Mary's. This controversy is narrated in the Chapter records. Early in 1674 the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors and all the Heads of Houses presented what they called their "case" against Christ Church. While admitting that the sermons on Christmas Day, Good Friday, Easter Day, and Ascension Day are ordered to be at Christ Church, and that morning sermons preached by the Dean and canons *may* be there delivered, they insist that all sermons which fall to D.D.s, B.D.s and others *in their turn* must, according to statute, take place at St. Mary's. They suggest that the Dean and Chapter are guilty of perjury in not conforming to the statutes. Then they add various arguments based on convenience: the Cathedral is a bad place for hearing, especially on the north side of the tower; it is more distant than St. Mary's from most of the Colleges; the bell cannot be heard; and there is ill accommodation in the seats. They urge that the Dean and Chapter should not, for a mere "punctilio of grandeur," insist on their claim.

The Dean and Chapter send an angry reply. They claim to settle the matter by the power granted under their foundation charter to the Dean and, in his absence, the Sub-dean, "to exempt the members of this Society from appearing at the public conventions of the University, whether sacred or civil."* But, evidently feeling the weakness of their position, they urge an argument which is interesting if really based on fact:

"Also the Dean and prebends according to the manner of all other Cathedrals preaching on Sundays and other solemnities in their own church, the students repaired constantly thither, who were generally accompanied by the members of other Colleges in great numbers. But the University finding the inconvenience thereof, made this agreement with our predecessors, that when any of them preached the whole University should come to their sermons at Christ Church, provided they would desist from their constant course of preaching, and come themselves to St. Mary's when the sermon was there, and encourage the members of their Society to come thither; which agreement was accordingly put in practice, and gave occasion to the frequency of the Dean and canons' turns in Term time and on other solemn days, which remains unto this day, a third part of those courses in the whole year falling upon us."

The Dean and Chapter reply at great length and with

* The words of the Charter (letters patent of November 4, 1546) here referred to are: "concedimus . . . quod idem Decanus et eo absente vice decanus ejusdem ecclesiæ pro tempore existens habeat facultatem et auctoritatem dandi et concedendi studentibus infra eandem ecclesiam ex causis rationalibus dictum Decanum et eo absente vice decanum moventibus ut sese a congregationibus exequiis et missis Academiæ et universitatis prædictæ absentent quocumque statuto vel ordinatione universitatis edito non obstante."

much minuteness to every argument advanced by the University. The topic of inconvenience is thus treated:

"which topic, though seldom considered when rights are contested, yet had it been only insisted on might probably have superseded the use of so many words, and made both an easy and desired issue of this debate. But since this now comes in not as a friendly desire, but an aggravation of our guilt of perjury imputed to us, that to maintain a mere 'punctilio of grandeur' we break our oaths and give the whole University trouble, it becomes necessary that we advert a little particularly to it.

"1. And first, as to the length of the way hither, we suppose the distance of any part of the town to Christ Church not to be so vast as to prove a wearisome journey; nor when the courses confessedly to be preached at Christ Church are so many and constantly recurring as they are, can we think our share in the surplusage of the long course, which comes about scarce once in two or three years, is in any degree considerable.

"2. The like may be said of the inconveniences of our seats, and the low voice of our bell, only we wonder at nine of the clock at night he should be heard under severe penalties all about the town, when he only tolls, but at nine in the morning, when he rings out and tolls both, he should not be audible; and it is equally strange that our preachers should have the same mishap with our bell."

No agreement seems to have been arrived at, and the matter went at last before the King. It was then ordered that when a canon preached in his turn as canon the University should attend at christ Church; but that if he preached in another capacity, the sermon should be at St. Mary's. This decision determined the

practice which prevailed as late as 1869,* when Christ Church voluntarily abandoned the privilege, having placed Morning Prayer at ten o'clock on Sunday, an hour necessarily conflicting with the University sermon. The University authorities, however, still attend at Christ Church four times a year; on Good Friday, Easter Day, Ascension Day, and Christmas Day; on which occasions the sermon is preached by the Dean or some one nominated by him.

Fell's activity was ubiquitous. Nothing escaped his vigilance, and few duties, however trivial, were allowed to be discharged by deputy. Wood describes a curious scene which occurred in January 1666, when a play called "Flora's Vagaries," the work of a young Westminster Student, Richard Rhodes, was acted by the undergraduates in the Hall during the holiday time which Christmas always brought.

"The Dean encouraged it . . . let nobody in but whom he thought fit, especially at the Hall or Refectory door. . . . The Dean being firm, windows were broken in the Hall and in Canterbury College. The Dean was laughed at for his pains and forwardness, being set on by the students."

Then when the play was over

"the Dean gave them a supper. Dr. Allestree gave each of them a book of seven shillings' price. They give them upon this to drunkenness and wantonness, especially among themselves. Dr. Mayne spoke before them a speech com-

* Dr. Pusey's two famous sermons, immediately before and after his suspension, were both preached at Christ Church, in his turn as canon; and so was Dr. Stanley's farewell sermon in November 1863, when he left Oxford for Westminster. But for a crowded audience the Cathedral was, and is, somewhat inconvenient. The present Dean, when preaching recently, not in his official capacity, but as a D.D., delivered his sermon at St. Mary's.

mending them for their ingenuity, and told them he liked well an acting student."

To the end of his life Fell's abounding energy never flagged, but was exercised throughout the University. In the year before his death, upon the news of Monmouth's rebellion, he summoned the undergraduates to take up arms for James, as he himself had borne them for Charles. Lord Norreys, eldest son of the Lord Lieutenant of the county, acted as captain of a company consisting chiefly of Christ Church men, which drilled in Peckwater. The battle of Sedgemoor came before they could be of any real service, but a huge bonfire in the great quadrangle to celebrate the victory, and the joyous ringing out of "Great Tom," provided a delightful recompense for their martial efforts.

Fell was not, perhaps, a courtier, but his loyalty to the Crown was conspicuous, and it was his duty as Dean to receive royal visitors on several occasions. In 1663 the King and Queen came in state to Christ Church and were lodged at the Deanery; the Countess of Castlemaine came also; she was not served, however, as Ken, at Winchester, had served Nell Gwynne, but became the guest of Dr. Gardiner in his lodgings near the meadow. The King, during his visit, touched for the evil in the choir of the Church.

Two years later Charles came again, travelling to Oxford from Salisbury to avoid the plague. He was lodged at Christ Church as before, but the Queen was received at Merton. With them came the Duke and Duchess of York, who were the guests of Dr. Allestree, in his new lodgings adjoining the Deanery; and Monmouth was also of the royal party.

In 1674 the Duchess of Cleveland (the former Lady Castlemaine) brought her eldest son to be placed under Fell's charge. She lodged in Oxford, and sent for the Dean to attend her at her lodgings, and, before leaving, she sat in her carriage for an hour, pleased to be gazed at by the people in the streets.

In 1681 came an order from the King that all preparations should be made at Oxford for the meeting of Parliament. It was necessary in consequence to send the bulk of the undergraduates away to their homes, and the tranquillity of the whole University was disturbed. Christ Church, Corpus, and Merton were appropriated to the Court, other colleges to Privy Councillors and Members of Parliament; the House of Lords sat in Christ Church Hall. Wood waxes eloquent over the King's arrival:

"At the King's coming into the most spacious Quadrangle of Christ Church, what by the shouts and the melodious ringing of the ten stately bells there, the College sounded, and the buildings did learn from its scholars to echo forth his Majesty's welcome. You might have heard it ring again and again, 'Welcome! Welcome!! Thrice welcome!!! Charles the Great!'"

In May 1683 the Duke and Duchess of York and the Lady Anne paid a visit of several days to Oxford, and were entertained at the Deanery. A full account of their proceedings is given in Wood's *Life and Times*, vol. iii. p. 47 (O. H. S. vol. xxvi.).

Much more might be told about John Fell, and the events in which he played a leading part, but enough perhaps has been told to show how deep was the impression which he made upon Oxford, and how

splendid the work that he accomplished in Christ Church. He was a man of very simple habits, and totally regardless of money. An unmarried man, he lived for more than ten years alone at the Deanery, and then gave a home to his widowed sister Philippa, wife of Dr. Walter James, Prebendary of Westminster and Rector of Sunningwell. She managed his household till the end of 1683, when she died suddenly at High Wycombe, on a journey to Oxford. He does not seem to have lived much at Cuddesdon, or at St. Oswald's Hospital at Worcester, though he built a chapel there. Christ Church always claimed his heart, and when his death occurred in the early morning of the Saturday before the Act, July 10, 1686, he was buried in the Cathedral

"on the right hand side just within the entrance of the Divinity chapel, under the seat where he used to hear Latin prayers every morning betimes and after nine at night."

He wished for no monument, but his relatives erected one, and Aldrich wrote the epitaph. It was a large monument of white marble, standing originally by Sir George Nowers' tomb under the first arch on the north side of the Latin chapel, hard by the Dean's accustomed seat. It had a long inscription on both sides, and over it was placed the Bishop's mitre which may still be seen above the arch. But the monument has been moved from its interesting and appropriate position. It was transferred first, it is not known when, to the western wall of the nave, and when the additional western bay was constructed in 1872 it was placed in its present position, just on the right of the western entrance. The in-

From a photograph by Hel [*Oxford Camera Club*

THE LATIN CHAPEL

scription which was originally on the southern face of the monument is now at the base, divided into two parts, and surrounded by the same moulding that formed its border when it was on the other side. Fell's arms impaling on the dexter side the arms of the see, and on the sinister side those of Christ Church, ensigned by a mitre, surmount the monument. The epitaph is very long and somewhat fulsome; he was too great a man for so many words of praise. A more appropriate memorial was established through a benefaction made by one of John Fell's executors, Mr. John Cross, which was to provide for a Latin speech in his praise, to be delivered every year, in the public refectory, before dinner time, on his obital day. The first oration under this benefaction was spoken by Edward Wells, an M.A. Student, on July 10, 1694, and from that time till 1866 the "Fellii Laudes" have been repeated by Student after Student, though the date was transferred to the All Saints Gaudy. The present writer was the deliverer of the last speech in 1866. With the establishment of the new Governing Body the function ceased; why, it is hard to say.

The reader will perhaps have wondered why no mention has been made of what has been sometimes regarded as the chief blot on Fell's good fame, his treatment of the famous philosopher, John Locke. It has been thought best to reserve this episode for separate treatment.

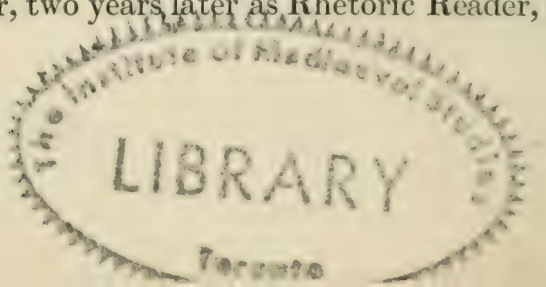
John Locke, or Lock (the name is written in both ways in the Christ Church books), had been elected to a Studentship from Westminster in 1652, at the age of 19. He was junior by one year to Robert South. He passed through his undergraduate course with credit,

and we find him in strange conjunction with the future staunch royalists, Ralph Bathurst and South, among the contributors to the ἐλαιοφορία, a volume of elaborate eulogy on Oliver Cromwell at the conclusion of the peace with the Dutch in 1654. The book contains copies of verses not only in Greek and Latin, but also in Hebrew, Welsh, Dutch, French, and English. All the principal residents of the University were laid under contribution for it, and it begins with a Latin preface by Dean Owen, then Vice-Chancellor, and a copy of Latin elegiacs by the same solemn dignitary. Locke's elegiacs are better than Owen's, and are very creditable for an undergraduate.

After the Restoration, the Oxford poets were in demand again, and another volume was published, called *Domiduca Oxoniensis*, to celebrate the arrival in England of Catharine of Braganza. Both Locke and South were among the contributors, and Locke, writing this time in English, composed some pretty verses, ending with lines which, viewed in the light of subsequent events, were singularly unfortunate as a description of the royal lover:—

> He search'd the world, and view'd it every part,
> But found all these too little for his heart;
> Two things alone remain'd hid from his view,
> Could make him fully happy, Heaven and you:
> Like Heaven you come with ravishments of blisse,
> Desir'd unknown, at once seen, and made his!

Locke was now a graduate of M.A. standing; he had taken some share in the tuition of the College, and in the roll of Christmas 1660 he appears as Greek Reader, two years later as Rhetoric Reader, and in 1663,


LIBRARY

at the age of 31, he was Censor of Moral Philosophy. While holding this dignified position he was summoned before the Dean and chapter "to answer for the sconcing of one of the servants of the House." But upon examination of the whole matter "it was found and declared that Mr. Locke was not guilty of the fact charged against him." More strange than such treatment of the senior Censor is the fact that although Locke was a layman, his name occurs from 1665 to 1674 among the first twenty Students of the foundation, the "Theologi," who were certainly as a rule in priest's orders. It is difficult to account for such an anomaly. Possibly at this period the rule was not so strict as it afterwards became, or a special exemption was permitted in favour of a Student who had served as senior Censor; but at Christmas 1675 we find him lower on the list, transferred from the "Theologi" to a place among the next twenty, the "Philosophi primi vicenarii;" and this apparent degradation is explained in a letter from Prideaux to Ellis, dated February 7, 1675, in which he tells his correspondent that

> "Locke hath wriggled into Ireland's faculty place, and intendeth this Act to proceed doctor in physic, which will be a great kindness to us, we not being above four to bear the whole charges of the Act supper."

His appointment as a faculty Student freed him from any necessity of taking Holy Orders as a condition of retaining his Studentship, and placed him next after the "Theologi" on the College roll.

But Locke was not dependent on his Studentship for his livelihood. His father's death in 1661 had given him a small property in Somersetshire, and at Oxford he

enjoyed more or less of private practice as a physician. He had moreover other occupations. Just after ceasing to be Censor, if indeed he did not resign the Censorship on this account, he became secretary to Sir Walter Vane, British envoy to the Court at Brandenburg. It was through his medical knowledge that he soon afterwards became acquainted with Lord Ashley, who desired his opinion on the merit of the Astrop waters. This acquaintance quickly ripened into friendship; he became Lord Ashley's secretary, and superintended his son's education, and when Ashley became Lord Chancellor and Earl of Shaftesbury, Locke was made secretary of the Presentations. He now came to be engaged in public affairs, and was not unnaturally suspected of complicity with Shaftesbury's designs against the succession, and intrigues on behalf of Monmouth. He was often travelling on the continent; and when he returned to Oxford the Christ Church men, who had been warned of his disaffection, used to try to entrap him in unguarded moments by compromising questions over their wine. But his caution and reticence saved him, as Fell seems to admit with some regret, from having anything proved against him; and at last, after the failure of Shaftesbury's plans and his death in Holland, came the famous royal mandate for Locke's removal from his Student's place. The original letter may be seen in the Christ Church library. It runs as follows:

"Charles R.

"Right Reverend Father in God, and trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we have received information of the factious and disloyall behaviour of — Lock, one of the Students of that our Colledge, we have

thought fit hereby to signify our will and pleasure to you, that you forthwith remove him from his said Student's place and deprive him of all the rights and advantages thereunto belonging; for which this shall be your warrant. And so we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our Court at Whitehall the 11th day of November 1684, in the six and thirtieth yeare of our reigne.

"By his Maj^ties command,

"SUNDERLAND.

"To the Right Reverend Father in God, John Lord Bishop of Oxford, Dean of Christ Church, and to our trusty and well beloved Chapter there."

Without any delay, the obedient Chapter carried into execution the royal command. The following entry occurs in the Chapter book.

"By the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Christ in Oxon, 15 November 1684. The day and year above written his Majesty's mandate for the removal of Mr. Lock from his Student's place and deprivation of him from all the rights and advantages thereto belonging was read in Chapter and ordered to be put in execution, there being present Jo: Oxon, Dean, Dr. Ed: Pocock, Dr. Henry Smyth, Dr. Jo: Hammond, Dr. Henry Aldrich."

How far the royal mandate could have been disputed, or its execution delayed, is very doubtful. But it was obeyed with alacrity, and there is no doubt that Fell had shown little generosity towards Locke; he had given him no warnings; he had allowed him to be secretly watched as a suspicious person; and was probably not sorry to be well rid of a Student suspected of disloyal intrigues.

In his defence it should be remembered that Fell

was a man of devoted loyalty to Charles; that the royal foundation over which he presided had shared the fortunes of the Stuarts through clouds as well as sunshine; that the question of the succession was at the moment of supreme importance; while the loss of the Studentship could be of little matter to Locke, who was constantly abroad, and possessed comfortable private means. If Fell could have foreseen what would happen at his own death in the government of his beloved College he might have been a less ready tool in the hands of Sunderland and Charles.

Locke was absent from England at the time of his expulsion, and did not return to his country till 1689, when he crossed in the fleet which conveyed the Princess of Orange. The rest of his life was mostly spent in retirement, at Oates in Essex, the country seat of Sir Thomas Masham. All his writings are of a date later than that of his expulsion from Christ Church. He died in 1704, and his body lies in the church of High Lavers in Essex. His portrait by Kneller hangs in Christ Church Hall; his statue by Roubillac, the gift of his great nephew, William Lock, was accepted by the Chapter in 1754, and was soon afterwards placed in an honourable position on the stately staircase of the newly completed library in Peckwater; the Chapter minute atones in a measure for the wrongs of the past by speaking of "John Lock, Esq., formerly Student of Christ Church and an ornament of this society."

An interval of nearly six months elapsed between the death of Dean Fell and the appointment of his successor. The only matter of interest recorded during the inter-

regnum was the election of Samuel Parker, soon to acquire notoriety at Magdalen College, to the Bishopric of Oxford. Some doubts were entertained as to the capacity of a headless Chapter to transact the election with due formalities, but Aldrich, as Sub-dean, summoned the other canons, and on September 18 Parker was elected. On November 4 he was duly installed by proxy, Pocock acting as his representative.

It was an anxious interval. Less than three weeks before Fell's death the judges had formally decided, in the case of Sir E. Hales, that the King had authority to dispense with penal laws in particular cases, and there was little doubt that he would soon exercise that power in relation to the Universities, as he had already exercised it in making appointments in the army. It was natural therefore that grave forebodings should be entertained with regard to the important vacancy at Christ Church, and the delay in making the selection intensified the anxiety. In August 1686 Obadiah Walker, the Roman Catholic Master of University College, was granted a dispensation, and fitted up a chapel within his College for his own use "in a low chamber on the east side of the quadrangle, in the entry leading from the quadrangle to his lodgings, on the right hand." Then in October came the rumour that a certain John Massey, a Fellow of Merton, and a former servitor of Walker's at University College, was to be thrust as chief upon the magnificent foundation of Christ Church. Wood declares that Massey went up to London on October 11 to kiss hands on his appointment and was closeted with the King for a quarter or half an hour. "'Tis supposed the King obliged him to

be constant for the cause." He adds that Walker procured him this Deanery,

"first, to the affront of the ancient Canons there, because he pins his quondam servitor upon them, of eleven years standing Master and no more, and secondly to the envy of his contemporaries and juniors, nay to all except his intimate friends, who pity him in that he is made Walker's tool, and that he will be obnoxious to all affronts and abuses."

The letters of appointment were received in the middle of December, and on December 29 the installation took place in the Cathedral church. It is a matter of astonishment that no word of remonstrance was uttered by any member of the Chapter at so scandalous an outrage on their College. A severer test of their loyalty to the Crown could scarcely have been devised. Massey was not yet indeed an avowed Roman Catholic; but he had declined to receive the Holy Communion in Merton College chapel on Christmas Day; he was the creature of Walker; and he came to the installation with the royal dispensation in his hands.

Wood describes the scene; and the Chapter books contain a full transcript of the letters patent of the appointment, and of the dispensation, together with a minute account of the ceremony, the first formal record, in detail, of the installation of a Dean. It was evidently recognised as a very serious matter.

"Mr. John Massey," writes Wood under the date of December 29, "installed in his Dean's place in the Cathedral by Dr. H. Aldrich, Sub-dean. He was in his surplice and hood, and when the first lesson was reading he was conveyed from the Divinity chapel by the vergerer and

other officers to the door of his seat, where first his patent was read; then his dispensation from coming to prayers, receiving the Sacrament, taking of all oaths, and other duties belonging to him as Dean; and then he was lifted up. Many young scholars and townsmen were there, laughing and girning, and making a May-game of the matter. They said what they pleased, but the Canons looked grave."

The "dispensation and pardon"—dated December 16, one day later than the letters of appointment—granted to Massey the royal licence

"to absent himself from Church, Chapel, or usual place of Common Prayer as the same is now used in England, and to abstain from and forbear receiving and administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the liturgy and usage of the said Church of England, and from taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and from reading and subscribing the articles of religion commonly called the nine-and-thirty articles, and from making subscribing or repeating any declaration acknowledgment or recognition or doing any other act or thing required by or mentioned or contained in the Act of Parliament made in the thirteenth and fourteenth year of the reign of our late royal brother, entitled an Act for the Uniformity of Public Prayer and administration of the Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies and for establishing a form of making ordaining and consecrating Bishops Priests and Deacons in the Church of England, or mentioned or contained in one other Act of Parliament made in the five-and-twentieth year of our said late brother entitled an Act for the preventing danger which may happen from Popish recusants, and from doing declaring or subscribing all and every such other acts and things in conformity to the doctrine, discipline and

liturgy of the Church of England as he, the said John Massey, by reason of his being Dean of Christ Church aforesaid by the laws and statutes of this our realm of England or by any statute, constitution, or custom of the University of Oxford or of the College called Christ Church aforesaid or either of them he is or shall be obliged to perform make or subscribe."

The document then goes on to free him from all penalties which might otherwise attach to him under the law of England.

The formal account of the installation, given in the Chapter Register, is in Latin, and is certified by a notary public. It appears that Massey *did* take the oath of allegiance and the oath concerning simony; and then, as the Sub-dean proceeded to tender the oath of supremacy, he produced the dispensation,

"alias litteras ut apparuit patentes dicti domini Regis sub eodem magno sigillo in cera flava iisdem similiter appenso."

The humiliating ceremony ended as follows:

"quas quidem litteras patentes prædictus Henricus Aldrich cum ea qua decuit reverentia etiam admisit et acceptavit."

They were handed to the Registrar to be read aloud, and then the Sub-dean duly admitted Massey:

"ut mos est admisit et installavit, ac eidem Johanni Massey stallum in choro et locum ac vocem in capitulo assignavit."

Massey's tenure of the Deanery lasted till November 30, 1688, less than two years. He was a very insignificant person, and the government of the College was probably

largely controlled by Aldrich. We seldom trace the Dean within the walls of his Cathedral. He doubtless was in attendance on James when the King touched for the evil in the church in September 1687; and he seems to have been present at the election of Timothy Hall to the Bishopric of Oxford on August 18, 1688.

If Wood may be trusted, Massey did not openly "declare" as a Romanist till two months had elapsed after his installation; and in March 1687 the old Refectory of Canterbury College, a building running north and south along the western side of its little quadrangle—as may be seen in Loggan's drawing—was fitted up as a private chapel for the Dean's use. Here the offices were performed by his chaplain, a Jesuit priest named Ward. James attended service there on his visit in 1687, and at the assizes of that summer, while the Judges went to St. Mary's, the High Sheriff, Sir Henry Browne of Kidlington, by what seems a strange breach of etiquette, forsook the Judges and attended sermon in the Dean's chapel. Wood records one curious scene there, of which perhaps he was witness:

"November 20, Sunday at Vespers in Dean Massey's chapel was a riot occasioned by a Master of Arts laughing and girning at the priest. Thomas, the Dean's man, put him out, and a townsman struck him, he struck him again, others fell upon him. The man that struck is bound over to the sessions."

The effect of Massey's appointment, and of the whole policy of James towards Oxford, was disastrous to the University and the city. Wood writes that the traders

"much complain for want of trade because of the paucity of scholars frightened away for fear of popery endeavoured to be spread throughout the University by the endeavours of Walker, who endeavours to make Heads of Houses and officers of his own persuasion. They threaten him; he hath the curses of all, both great and small."

At Christ Church the effect of the appointment was at once felt. At no other time do the Dean's entry-books show so well marked a decline in the number of admissions. In 1687 no noblemen were admitted, only 2 gentlemen commoners, 11 commoners, and 2 servitors; a total of 15, as against 45 in 1685.

Oxford was in a very sullen and suspicious temper. When a thanksgiving was ordered for the Queen being with child no bells were rung except at Christ Church and Magdalen; at the birth of the prince the bells were again rung and the *Te Deum* was chanted at those two Colleges, but nowhere else was the event noticed.

Then came the landing of William, and Walker and Massey knew that it was time for flight. On the last day of November they both vanished.

"Mr. Massey, Dean of Christ Church, removed all things from his chapel, and had packed up his goods before. Mr. Dean of University College and Mr. Wakeman the chaplain, a Jesuit, did take away all from their chapel, and locked up Mr. O. Walker's lodgings. St. Andrew's day in the morning, Mr. Dean and Mr. Massey left Oxford before day; waited for the hackney coach out of town to go to London—all blown off."

News came that Walker had been seized in Kent and was locked up in Maidstone Gaol, and that Massey,

though disguised in the red cloak of a trooper, had been taken with him. Massey, however, escaped safely to France, and remained there till his death in 1716, becoming confessor to the convent of Blue Nuns at Paris.

CHAPTER VI

FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE END OF THE STUART PERIOD

Deans: Henry Aldrich, 1689–1710 ; Francis Atterbury, 1711–13 ; George Smalridge, 1713–19.

Happier times now came to Christ Church. *Henry Aldrich* (1689–1710) was appointed Dean on April 4, 1689, and was installed on June 7. In the letters patent of his appointment no mention whatever is made of Massey. Aldrich is nominated to the post "per mortem naturalem Johannis Fell . . . jam vacantem." The canonry which he vacated was at the same time filled by the appointment of William Wake, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury ; and a grand banquet was given by the two dignitaries in the College Hall, the Heads of Houses and all Doctors being invited to attend.

James, on hearing of Massey's flight, at once made a last exercise of his royal prerogative by nominating Benjamin Woodroffe, canon of the 1st stall, to the vacant Deanery. The nomination was made on December 8, three days before the King's flight from Whitehall ; but no notice appears to have been taken of it at Oxford.

No appointment could have been more popular than

that of Aldrich. He was an old Westminster Student, and was familiar with all the traditions of his House. He had been Tutor of the College during Fell's most active years, and since 1681 had held the canonry of the 2nd stall. He was now forty-two years of age, and possessed not only high and varied attainments, but a singular charm of character. He was a good theologian, and was much respected in the Convocation of Canterbury, where for a time he was Prolocutor of the lower house. He was also appointed, in 1689, as a member of the royal Commission for a revision of the Prayer Book, but with Jane, the Regius Professor of Divinity, he discontinued his attendance after the third session. His skill in architecture—on which subject he wrote a treatise—is shown by the existing buildings of Peckwater and by All Saints Church in High Street. His *Artis Logicæ Compendium*, originally written for Charles Boyle, has scarcely yet gone out of use. It laid no claim to originality, but has been the foundation of many a subsequent work on logic, and it possesses the invaluable characteristics of a good elementary manual that it is well arranged, concise, and easily committed to memory. A manual of heraldry which he drew up for the use of pupils was pronounced by Dr. Thwaites to be "done very well, and the best of its nature ever made." He was also skilled in chemistry; and it was to him, in conjunction with Dr. Sprat, that Lord Rochester entrusted the publication of Lord Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*; the preface to the first volume, as well as the dedication to the Queen prefixed to the second and third volumes, are from his pen. But perhaps it is as a musician that Aldrich's name is most widely known through the familiar round "Hark the

bonny Christ Church bells," of which Sir John Stainer writes that it is

"still the joy of school children and the admiration of musicians, on account of the sweetness of its melody and the excellence of its construction. No better example of this class of composition has ever been produced."

In *Playford's Musical Companion* will be found ten catches composed by him; the "Catch on Tobacco" being perhaps the most amusing. Aldrich wrote 2 cathedral services and also 20 anthems, and adapted several more, having a peculiar liking for the expansion of earlier themes into movements of greater dimensions. Without adopting the excessive praise sometimes accorded to him, it may be asserted without fear of contradiction that he was a highly trained and gifted musician, and that he had a wide knowledge of the literature, history and science of music.*

To these varied accomplishments Aldrich added a very kindly and sociable disposition, without affectation or pride. "He was humble and modest to a fault," writes Hearne, "a most affable, complaisant gentleman." It is pleasant to think of a Dean of Christ Church who was not too austere to enjoy his pipe and his glass of wine. He was an inveterate smoker, and has summed up in three happy lines five excellent reasons against total abstinence:

"Si bene commemini, causæ sunt quinque bibendi:
Hospitis adventus, præsens sitis atque futura,
Aut vini bonitas, aut quælibet altera causa."

Aldrich held the Deanery for 21 years. The numbers

* I am indebted to Sir John Stainer for this estimate of Aldrich's musical merits.

of the College quickly rose under his wise and genial sway, and Massey's time was soon forgotten. In 1692 he took the office of Vice-Chancellor, which he held for two years, an office not again accepted by a Dean of Christ Church till 1870. He told the Doctors and Masters on his admission that he intended to look severely after the discipline of the University and all the exercises for degrees, and to Wood's great joy he revived the solemnities of the Act, after six years of non-observance.

The two principal events connected with his time, relating to Christ Church, are (1) the building of the present Quadrangle of Peckwater, with the exception of the Library, (2) the famous dispute about the Epistles of Phalaris.

1. It is not easy to describe the exact condition of Peckwater at the beginning of the 18th century, though Loggan's drawing shows, no doubt with his usual accuracy, the elevation of the buildings and the arch-way through which the quadrangle was entered at the south-western and south-eastern corners. In 1600, as has been mentioned, some new sets of rooms had been erected there, but probably not a little of the ancient buildings of Vine Hall or Peckwater Inn survived; the whole area having been brought into uniformity as a quadrangle in the time of Charles I., and the inner walls, both here and in the adjoining quadrangle of Canterbury College, having been faced with rough cast. The rooms, however, were irregular and of mean elevation; those on the east side were of two stories only, the rest had a third or garret story. The older portion of the buildings was probably in a bad state of repair, and the spacious area would obviously provide excellent

accommodation for a large number of undergraduates, if loftier blocks of rooms were erected on it.

An opportune bequest of £2000 from Dr. Anthony Radcliffe, canon of the 8th stall, who died in 1705, gave Aldrich the wished for opportunity of forming an entirely new quadrangle in this part of the College. He pulled down three sides of the old Peckwater, leaving the low buildings on the south side, some of which had been assigned as Students' rooms, till the new Library should take their place in due course. He was himself the architect of the new block, which formed three sides of a square; and many generous gifts of money were added by the Chapter and wealthy members of the House, to supplement Dr. Radcliffe's benefaction. On the northern side, beneath the cornice, may still be seen the Latin inscription which perpetuates the memory of Dr. Radcliffe.

The foundation stones, three in number, were laid on January 26, 1706; the statue of Queen Anne, the gift of Robert Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford, having been placed on the previous day in its niche on the eastern side of "Tom" Tower. One of the three stones was laid by James Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, with the following inscription upon it:

"Jacobus Comes Sarisburiensis hunc lapidem locavit, gratitudinis suæ et gaudii testem, quod ipse dum hæc surgerent mœnia sub auspiciis Decani eorundem architecti optimè de se meriti feliciter adolesceret; præceptoribus usus Antonio Alsop et Joanne Savage, A.M.M., quorum dulcem memoriam tam conservari voluit quam suam."

The second stone particularly commemorated Dr.

Radcliffe; the third contained the names of all the members of the Chapter, "perennem hisce mœnibus felicitatem auguratos." The exact position of these three stones is unfortunately unknown.

It is of interest to note that Alsop and Savage, whom Lord Salisbury specially included in the inscription upon the stone which he laid, were both Westminster men, though only the first was a Student. Alsop had been elected from Westminster in 1690, and had served as Tutor and Censor under Aldrich, Lord Salisbury having been among his pupils. So admirably had he discharged his College duties that he won from Bishop Trelawny a stall at Winchester and the living of Brightwell. He was an elegant scholar, and took part in the Phalaris controversy. A volume of his *Odes*, consisting chiefly of polished Sapphic verses addressed to Christ Church dignitaries, was published by Sir Francis Bernard in 1752. He was also the author of many of the *Carmina Quadragesimalia*. Savage had gone from Westminster to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and it may seem strange that he should have been selected for special mention in the inscription on the foundation stone of Peckwater. But after he had taken his degree at Cambridge his name had been placed on the books of Christ Church, and he had been travelling tutor to Lord Salisbury and was now his chaplain. He was a good classical scholar and a great traveller, and was so loyal to his old school that in later life, when he was Lecturer at St. George's, Hanover Square, he constantly attended the Plays and other gatherings at the school. So fond of him did the boys become, that at his death they subscribed together to place a tablet to his memory in the cloisters, bearing

these pretty Elegiac lines, a creditable specimen of Westminster Latinity:

"Tu nostræ memor usque scholæ, dum vita manebat,
Musa nec immemores nos sinit esse tui.
Ipse loci genius te mæret, amicus amicum,
Et luctu pietas nos propiore ferit.
Nobiscum assuêras docto puerascere lusu,
Fudit et ingenitos cruda senecta sales.
Care senex, puer hoc te saltem carmine donat,
Ingratum pueri nec tibi carmen erat."

Dr. Savage was killed by a fall from the stairs of the scaffold erected for the trial of Lord Lovat in 1746.

The new buildings of Peckwater, so auspiciously begun, were not quite finished in Aldrich's lifetime. The bill for completing the east side was not paid till Christmas 1711. The handsome oak wainscoting of the rooms, which cost from £37 to £45 a set, was to be paid for, according to a Chapter order of December 9, 1710, on the well known "thirding" system. It is amusing to find that Aldrich, an amateur architect, had made one omission of which even professional architects are sometimes guilty. He had contrived no way by which workmen might get on to the roof of Peckwater when repairs were needed. Not till 1728, when no doubt the want was discovered, was the necessary access made, as is revealed by a formal Chapter order.

2. It had been the practice of Dean Aldrich, following the example of John Fell,* to encourage learning among

* Hearne gives a curious account of the origin of one of the volumes published in Fell's time. "The English translation of Scheffer's *History of Lapland*, printed at the Theatre in a thin folio, was made by Mr. Acton Cremer, who was then B.A. of Christ

the younger members of Christ Church by assigning to one or other of them the task of editing some classical work, which he would then issue, in handsome binding, as a New Year's gift to all the members of the House. The *Odyssey*, the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, the *Characters* of Theophrastus, and the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus were published in this way under his auspices. It happened that in 1692 Sir William Temple, then living in retirement at Moor Park, published his *Essay on Ancient and Modern Learning*, as a contribution to the controversy as to their relative merits which was then being waged among the literary men of France and England. Temple espoused the cause of the ancients, and gave special and emphatic praise to the *Epistles of Phalaris* and the *Fables of Æsop*. He declared the *Epistles* "to have more race, more spirit, more force of wit and genius than any others I have ever seen, either ancient or modern."

It was natural that the emphatic verdict of so high an authority (though indeed Temple knew not a word of Greek) should attract the attention of scholars to an almost forgotten work; and Dean Aldrich accordingly requested Mr. Charles Boyle, brother of the Earl of Orrery, a young gentleman commoner only seventeen years of age, to edit the *Epistles of Phalaris*, as a Christ Church gift book. Phalaris, it need scarcely be added, was the half mythical tyrant of Agrigentum,

Church, being an imposition set him by Bishop Fell for courting a mistress at that age, which the Bishop disliked, yet for all that he married. The Bishop was, however, pleased with the translation." This Mr. Cremer was a Westminster Student elected in 1670, a member of an ancient Worcestershire family. The lady was his cousin, Miss Elizabeth Penell. He married her in 1676, while he was still B.A., and afterwards took Holy Orders.

belonging to the sixth century B.C., whose brazen bull is referred to in the first Pythian Ode of Pindar:

> "τὸν δὲ ταύρῳ χαλκέῳ καυτῆρα νηλέα νόον
> ἐχθρὰ Φάλαριν κατέχει παντᾶ φάτις."

Boyle's edition of the *Epistles* attributed to this despot of antiquity was published at the beginning of 1695, and in the preface he complained of a lack of courtesy on the part of Dr. Richard Bentley in having refused him, except for too short a time to be of real use, the loan of a manuscript of the *Epistles* belonging to the King's Library at St. James's, which he had commissioned a representative to collate:

"Collatas etiam curavi usque ad Ep: 40 cum MS° in Bibliotheca Regia, cujus mihi copiam ulteriorem Bibliothecarius pro singulari sua humanitate negavit."

Bentley was not informed of the charge made against him; but he chanced soon afterwards to read these words, and at once sent an ample explanation of his apparent discourtesy; an explanation which certainly ought to have met with ready acceptance. However, Boyle thought otherwise. He did not withdraw his charge, although he might have done so. The result was that Bentley was made an enemy, and a very formidable enemy he proved to be. In 1697 a second edition of Wotton's *Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning* was published, and it contained an appendix by Bentley, in which he proved the entire spuriousness of the *Letters of Phalaris*, and assigned them to a date eight centuries later than the epoch of their supposed author. After this crushing attack he proceeded to deal with the origin and probable date of *Æsop's Fables*, the second subject of Temple's panegyric, and ended by

a full discussion of the question relating to his own treatment of Boyle in the matter of the manuscript in the King's Library, showing how bitterly he resented the unfortunate phrase "pro singulari sua humanitate."

Early in 1698 came the Christ Church reply to this assault. Boyle had not originally asserted the genuineness of the *Epistles of Phalaris*, but now he was committed to their defence. The answer bore Boyle's name, but owed much to the assistance of Atterbury, Smalridge, Alsop, and probably other members of their House. It was a brilliant performance if regarded simply from a polemical point of view, full of clever hits and strong invective, but it was in no way a refutation of Bentley's arguments. The most amusing part—attributed to Smalridge—was an application of Bentley's methods to prove that he could not have been the author of his own essay. A charming episode in the quarrel was the publication by Alsop in 1698 of an edition of *Æsop's Fables* at Dean Aldrich's request. For the very last fable in the book he printed a Latin translation of the "dog in the manger," with a delightful hit at Bentley. To the complaint of the ox the dog answers:

> "Exteri si quid sciant
> Humanitate supero quemlibet canem.
> Hunc intumentem rursus ita bos incipit:
> Hæc singularis an tua est humanitas,
> Mihi id roganti denegare pabulum,
> Gustare tu quod ipse nec vis, nec potes?"

This was not calculated to smooth matters, and in the preface Alsop scornfully alluded to the great Cambridge scholar as "Ricardum quendam Bentleium, virum in volvendis lexicis satis diligentem."

The reply which came forth from Christ Church was exceedingly effective at the moment. It went quickly through three editions, and the general verdict was for the time in favour of Boyle. Even in Cambridge Bentley found himself laughed at ; a caricature appeared in which he was depicted in the hands of the guards of Phalaris, who were putting him into their master's bull, and out of his mouth came a label with the words "I had rather be roasted than *Boyled*."

But Bentley waited patiently for his revenge, and in 1699 published a more elaborate dissertation, in which he completely proved his case, with greater detail, and absolutely demonstrated the spuriousness of the *Epistles*. It was a monumental work, and has been repeatedly republished; it made a new departure in classical criticism ; but he did not at once convince the world of letters, and many gave the victory to Oxford. Garth in his *Dispensary*,* published in 1699, wrote :

> "Still censures will on dull pretenders fall ;
> A Codrus should expect a Juvenal.
> Ill lines, but like ill paintings, are allowed
> To set off, and to recommend the good.
> So diamonds take a lustre from their foil,
> And to a Bentley 'tis we owe a Boyle."

* Samuel, afterwards Sir Samuel, Garth, was a well known member of the College of Physicians, and the poem so named (a poem famous for half a century) was on the subject of providing dispensaries, or out-patient departments, at the hospitals; he describes a mock Homeric battle between the apothecaries, whose interests were endangered, and those Fellows of the College who were in favour of the reform. The poem went through many editions. The first set of complimentary verses at the beginning of the volume is from the pen of Charles Boyle. Garth was a friend of Swift and Pope, and spoke the funeral oration over Dryden in 1700 at the College of Physicians, where the body lay in state for ten days.

A far greater man than Garth took the same side in the conflict. Swift, in the *Battle of the Books*, a satire composed in 1699, though not published till 1704, heaped contempt upon Bentley and gave all the glory to Boyle. In the Homeric battle with which it concludes Boyle is described as "clad in a suit of armour given him by all the gods," and in the last encounter with Bentley and Wotton he

"observing well his time took up a lance of wondrous strength and sharpness; and as this pair of friends compacted stood close side to side, he wheeled him to the right, and with unusual force darted the weapon. Bentley saw his fate approach, and flanking down his arms close to his ribs, hoping to save his body; in went the point, passing through arm and side, nor stopped till it had also pierced the valiant Wotton, who, going to sustain his dying friend, shared his fate. As when a skilful cook has trussed a brace of woodcocks he with iron skewer pierces the tender sides of both, their legs and wings close pinioned to the ribs: so was this pair of friends transfixed, till down they fell, joined in their lives, joined in their deaths; so closely joined that Charon would mistake them both for one, and waft them over Styx for half his fare."

This is excellent fooling, and Swift would not have so written if the popular judgment of the time had been in Bentley's favour; yet even the most loyal member of Christ Church as he reviews the ancient controversy must admit that Boyle's cause was hopeless from the first, and that the Cambridge scholar was incomparably superior to his Oxford antagonists, not only in learning but in dignity and even in humour. But the wide interest excited by the dispute and the momentary victory gained show how conspicuous and honourable

was the position then occupied by Christ Church in the world of letters.

Dean Aldrich died in London on December 14, 1710, in the 63rd year of his age. He was buried in his Cathedral in the dormitory north of the choir, close by his father's grave, as he had directed. R. Frewin,* a Westminster Student and eminent physician, who had attended the Dean in his last illness, made a fitting speech at the grave. In his will he left his books and prints to the College, and expressly commanded that no monument should be placed on his grave, nor any mention of his name be made. This injunction was observed at the time, but in 1732 the medallion with his portrait, together with an inscription, which may now be seen on the south wall of the nave, was placed to his memory by Dr. George Clarke, and an inscribed stone was laid over his resting place in the dormitory. His books were carefully sorted by Thomas Hearne, and all duplicates were consigned to the Dean's nephew. A room was fitted up "at the thither end of the Library" to receive the valuable bequest, and a catalogue was ordered to be made. Hearne notices among the books the "noble Louvre edition of Thomas à Kempis," but it is not now to be found. A fine bust of Aldrich, formerly in the Chapter House, has lately been cleaned, and now stands in the Library. His portrait is in the Hall and Chapter House, and elsewhere in the College.

Aldrich's successor, *Francis Atterbury* (1711–13), had a very short tenure of the Deanery. He was not in-

* Frewin was afterwards Camden Professor of Ancient History. He was a great benefactor to Christ Church. His portrait is in the Hall and Common Room, and his bust, by Roubillac, is in the Library.

stalled till September 28, 1711, more than nine months after Aldrich's death, and he was transferred to the Deanery of Westminster on June 12, 1713, being consecrated Bishop of Rochester on July 5 in the same year. After ten years, owing to political intrigues, he was deprived of his preferments, and was banished from England in 1723. He died in Paris in February 1732.

Atterbury was a man of very remarkable attainments. Elected head from Westminster to Christ Church in 1680, he in due course made his mark as Tutor and Censor. His aggressive and imperious temper exercised itself in controversy, not only with Bentley, but also with Wake and Hoadley. They were three redoubtable antagonists. Preferments came quickly to him; lectureships in London, a royal chaplaincy, a canonry at Exeter, the deanery of Carlisle. Before reaching middle life he had come to be ranked with the foremost preachers and most persuasive orators of the time. But he seems to have been a violent, self-assertive, and unamiable personage. At Carlisle and at Christ Church he "had a rare talent for fomenting discord." His oldest school friend, Smalridge, who succeeded him in both these preferments, used to say, "Atterbury comes first, and sets everything on fire, and I follow with a bucket of water."

Very little is recorded of Atterbury's work as Dean, though he is said to have been zealous in promoting the studies of the undergraduates (as might be expected from one who had been tutor in earlier years), and to have taken a special interest in the Westminster Students. He was, however, frequently absent from Oxford, and the canons complained of this as of other grievances which they endured under his rule. Hearne's

pages supply some indications of the strained relations which existed between him and his Chapter, and Stackhouse, who wrote during his lifetime, thus describes his conduct while Dean :

"No sooner was he settled there, than all ran into disorder and confusion. The canons had long been accustomed to the mild and gentle government of a Dean who had everything in him that was endearing to mankind, and could not therefore brook the wide difference that they perceived in Dr. Atterbury. That imperious and despotic manner in which he seemed resolved to carry everything made them more tenacious of their rights, and inclinable to make fewer concessions, the more he endeavoured to grasp at power, and tyrannise. This opposition raised the ferment, and in a short time there ensued such strife and contention, such bitter words and scandalous quarrels among them, that 'twas thought advisable to remove him, on purpose to restore peace and tranquillity to the learned body, and that other Colleges might not take the infection. A new method of obtaining preferment, by indulging such a temper and pursuing such practices as least of all deserve it."

Hearne has preserved for us a full account of Atterbury's installation at Christ Church. It was a function of quite unusual ceremony, and its description by an eye-witness has an interest of its own. At the 10 A.M. service the formal admission and installation took place. Smalridge was at the same time admitted to the canonry of the 1st stall, vacated by the death of Benjamin Woodroffe, and the new Dean and canon were afterwards conducted to their lodgings by the Sub-dean and other members of the Chapter with the observance of the customary forms. Then the Dean received at his lodgings

the Heads of Houses and noblemen. He next proceeded to the College Hall. At the foot of the staircase a Latin speech was addressed to him by an undergraduate Student; at the top of the staircase another Latin speech by the senior Bachelor Student; in the middle of the Hall a third Latin speech by the Rhetoric Reader, Dr. Frewin. The Dean then advanced to the steps of the dais and turning round made a speech also, presumably, in Latin, which lasted for a quarter of an hour. Then he sat down in the Dean's chair,

"and after some time a noble dinner was brought in, at which was a great number of persons. Dr. Aldrich treated very splendidly when he was Dean, but in this point Dr. Atterbury much exceeded him. 'Tis said that this treat could not have cost less than between two and three hundred pounds."

Hearne himself was among the guests, greatly pleased at having been invited. The dinner lasted till about half-past three. Then all went to their respective lodgings, but only for a short respite. At four o'clock came Evensong in the Cathedral, with an admirable anthem.

"At eight o'clock, as is usual upon these occasions, 'Little Tom,' for so they call the biggest of the ten bells in the Cathedral, rang out till nine. The great bell (commonly called 'Great Tom') over the great gate should have rung, if the motion of it were not very dangerous (as certain it is as they have experienced in former times) to the fabric in which it hangs."

Atterbury's life after leaving Christ Church need not be described or criticised here. It belongs to English history. But one characteristic incident, which took

place not long after he became Bishop, and may perhaps be mentioned as an illustration of his temperament, is narrated in Spence's anecdotes and in a somewhat softened form by Lord Stanhope. On the death of Queen Anne, Atterbury proposed to Bolingbroke to attempt to proclaim James at Charing Cross, offering to head the procession in his lawn sleeves: and when Bolingbroke shrank from so desperate an enterprise the Bishop exclaimed with an oath, "There is the best cause in Europe lost for want of spirit." The Jacobites were indeed taken by surprise, and their designs were completely foiled.

George Smalridge (1713–19) whom the College had desired in preference to Atterbury two years before, was at once, to the general satisfaction, appointed as his successor. He was installed on July 18, 1713, and in the following year was consecrated Bishop of Bristol, which see he held, as did several of his successors, together with the Deanery, the latter preferment providing an adequate income for the poorly endowed Bishopric. Smalridge was the son of a dyer at Lichfield, and his education is said to have been largely helped by the bounty of Elias Ashmole, himself the son of a Lichfield saddler. He was a life-long and intimate friend of Atterbury's, though very unlike him in disposition. He had for a short time held the Deanery of Carlisle with his canonry. His death occurred at Oxford from an apoplectic seizure, at the early age of 56, and he was buried in the Cathedral.

Smalridge brought back to Christ Church a season of repose and peacefulness. He had a singularly attractive and delightful disposition, while possessing brilliant parts and wide learning. The Sapphic lines which may

still be read beneath his portrait by Kneller which hangs in the College Hall describe his character :—

> "In tuo vultu, venerande Pastor,
> Fraudis ille expers animus renidet,
> Vividus spirat placidusque, qualis
> Aura Favoni."

He was the Favonius of Steele and Addison in the *Tatler*, and Addison, in a letter addressed to Swift from Bristol less than a year before the Bishop's death, thus writes of him :—

"The greatest pleasure I have met with for some months is in the conversation of my old friend Bishop Smalridge, who, since the death of the excellent man you mention, is to me the most candid and agreeable of all Bishops, I would say Clergymen, were not Deans comprehended under that title. We have often talked of you, and when I assure you he has an exquisite taste of writing, I need not tell you how he talks on such a subject."

Smalridge owed much to his friendship with Atterbury, and though he had none of his friend's passionate vehemence, he was inclined to side with him to a certain extent in his political views. We find him joining with Atterbury in refusing to sign the address to George I. which was drawn up by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and this refusal cost him his post of Lord Almoner, to which he had been appointed by Queen Anne. He was, however, afterwards favourably regarded by Caroline, Princess of Wales, the future Queen, and on his death she took pains to save his family from poverty.

Christ Church prospered greatly under his popular rule, and in spite of the large additional space provided by the new buildings of Peckwater, there seems to have

been a lack of accommodation for the undergraduates, for a committee of the Chapter was appointed to consider what chambers could be made into double sets. The removal of the block of rooms on the south side of Peckwater, to make space for the erection of the new Library, contributed to this difficulty; and out-houses and various offices belonging to the Deanery had to be cleared away and erected elsewhere. Preparations for beginning the Library were made in 1716, a noble design having been furnished by Dr. George Clarke, of All Souls College. But many years were spent upon the work, the upper portion not being completed till 1761. It was in Smalridge's time that the "Dead Man's Walk," along the city wall outside Merton College, was raised, the Broad Walk was widened, and the eastern wall belonging to the garden of the second stall was pulled down and rebuilt. The passage from Kill-Canon to Peckwater was also brought into its present state by re-constructing the wall of the Canon's garden, so as to make it match the wall of the Dean's premises on the opposite side of the passage.

The close of the Stuart period marks a break and a new point of departure in the annals of Christ Church. The College had by now reached a high, if not its highest, level of distinction. Its position in the University, and in the wider world of letters, was of unchallenged eminence; in all the professions its former "Alumni" occupied prominent and influential positions. Its buildings were almost as extensive as they are at the present day; its rooms were well filled; it was by far the largest and most conspicuous of all the Colleges of

Oxford; and it possessed also the unique distinction of being a Cathedral Church as well as a College.

The Deans who ruled during this period were all, or almost all, men of learning and authority. Christ Church profited then, as always, from the arrangement which obtained from its earliest days, that the appointment of the Dean and all the members of the Chapter rested with the Crown, and not with the College itself. It was thus saved from the calamity of falling into a narrow groove, and from the disgrace of favouritism and jobbery. The Crown, as a rule, promoted good men; and was careful to leaven the Chapter with a fair number of those who had already been Students, and who were thus familiar with the usages and traditions of their House, and anxious to maintain all that was good in them. And its walls were open—as a great place of education—to all England. There was no restriction of its advantages to members of the foundation; no grudging acceptance of just a few outsiders to share their privileges on the payment of considerable fees. The large number of independent members, noblemen, gentlemen commoners, and commoners, shows the generous welcome accorded to the higher classes of English society, in their various grades; its poorer scholars united with these, on the one broad basis of study and learning, men of lower rank or of more slender estate. The young nobleman or squire brought up with him from his ancestral home the son of his parson or of his tenant, in the capacity of servitor. The lad was matriculated, gained all the advantages of the same education, though at a trifling expense, and was provided with a thorough equipment for an honourable career. And the Students of the foundation, nominated by the Dean and canons accord-

ing to their several turns, were gathered from all classes, and from all parts of England. They were not drawn from one school or from one county. Westminster indeed always contributed its annual contingent, but it was a source of strength, not of weakness, to the College. Busby's extraordinarily long tenure of office as Headmaster (1638–95), joined with his remarkable influence as a teacher and his clear discrimination of character, provided a constant supply of good material, of which Christ Church showed its hearty appreciation. Among the distinguished men whom Busby sent up to Christ Church were Dolben, Philip Henry, South, Locke, Jane, Aldrich, Trelawny, Humphrey Prideaux, Atterbury, Gastrell, Welbore Ellis, Smalridge, Sir Edward Hannes, R. Freind and J. Freind.

From so brilliant a body of Students was selected the brilliant staff of College officers and Tutors, by whom, especially in the years following the Restoration, the young men were very effectively guided in their studies and encouraged to do their best. And the Deans themselves were no mere figureheads. Brought up in the College from freshmen's days, familiar with every phase of its life, and proud of its noble traditions, Fell and Aldrich took a keen personal interest in the studies of their undergraduates. Fell, we are told by Wood,

> "was a most excellent disciplinarian, kept up the exercise of his House severely, was admirable in training up youth of noble extraction, had a faculty in it peculiar to him, and was much delighted in it. He would constantly on several mornings of the week take his rounds in his College, go to the chambers of noblemen and gentlemen commoners, and examine and see what progress they made in their studies."

And Aldrich, as we have seen, was most careful in encouraging the abler of the young men to undertake independent work and sharpen their wits in the editing of classical authors.

It is interesting to step from time to time behind the scenes, and discover how the daily life of a great institution is going on, and gain some insight into the methods, not only of instruction, but of discipline. Young men are much the same in every generation ; but the character of the offences against order varies with the times, and reflects the character of the age ; and so with the methods of discipline enforced by the College authorities. In the Puritan times we have found instances of corporal punishment inflicted on young men of 19 or 20. This is not traced again in the Christ Church records subsequently to the Restoration ; but the Chapter books, which mention the graver offences committed by the Students, disclose some very curious breaches of discipline and show how they were dealt with. The Censors were the ordinary officers for maintaining order ; but for grave offences the Students were brought by them before the Dean and Chapter, and warned and punished by that body. The warnings were given "prima vice," and "secunda vice" ; but if a third serious offence were committed, the penalty was usually the forfeiture of the Studentship. Independent members of the House were mostly under the jurisdiction of the Dean and Censors, and were not taken before the Chapter. But the Dean himself dealt with noblemen and gentlemen commoners, and the Subdean with bachelors of arts.

The letters of Prideaux and other contemporary literature show the prevalence of dissolute and intemperate habits in the University at this time, among

the seniors as well as juniors; and the offences brought under the cognisance of the authorities at Christ Church chiefly relate to drunken and turbulent excesses; such as the frequenting of alehouses, riotous behaviour in the streets, quarrelling and violent language. Such misdeeds are frequently recorded in the Chapter minutes, and were committed by graduates as well as undergraduates.

Thus in 1664 a Bachelor Student was charged with having climbed over the College walls after the gates were shut, and with having been concerned with another Student in the killing a sow belonging to a poor woman, "which they left in the public way in the College to the disgrace of the College and the government of it," and his companion soon afterwards,

"a person of notorious and incorrigible debauchery, who had heretofore been found drunk and fighting at Merton College gate, and was by the Warden complained of to the Dean of this Church; one who, to the public disgrace of this House for a long time made it his practice to disturb passengers through the College by raising at them, as they went, from his window, loud and uncivil clamours and hootings; likewise to keep scandalous drinking in his chamber, and was found by the Dean debauching with a gentleman commoner late at night in the said gentleman's chamber; was likewise proved to have been an accomplice in robbing the Dean of Westminster's hen roost."*

This offender was also a B.A. Student, and strangely enough he was not expelled for these enormities.

* The Dean of Westminster was Dolben, canon of the fourth stall. He was appointed to Westminster in 1662, and retained his canonry till he was made Bishop of Rochester in 1666. Dryden alludes to him as dean in *Absalom and Ahitophel*:

"Him of the western dome, whose weighty sense
Flows in fit words, and heavenly eloquence."

Some years later a Westminster Student, an M.A. of 14 years standing, high up in the list of "Philosophi," behaved so atrociously in all sorts of ways, that he was formally expelled. Among other matters recorded against him was that "being confined by the Dean to his chamber he had hung a bag out of his window as the prisoners do at Bocardo." It is interesting to note that the Dean could then exercise the power of confining an M.A. Student to his rooms.

Other Students for various riotous acts were set heavy impositions; one, for assaulting the porter, and forcing his way through the gate, was confined to the Library and ordered to read Suarez's *Metaphysics*,—another, for drink and disorder at a tavern, was also kept in the Library, and was condemned to read Grotius *de jure pacis et belli*, and other books appointed by the Sub-dean.

One other instance, which occurred in Dean Smalridge's time (it will be remembered that he was Bishop of Bristol as well as Dean), affords a very curious illustration of the customs of the House at that period.

It is the case of Mr. Hammond, an M.A. Student of some years standing, who was cited before the Dean and Chapter, and required to sign the following "submission," on November 16, 1716:

"To the Right Reverend the Dean and the Reverend the Chapter.

"I acknowledge that on Sunday last I had company at my chambers, who staying with me till eleven o'clock at night and not then moving to go home, I sent the servant of the Common Room for more liquor, that which I had provided being spent. The servant returning said that he could not go out of College, the keys being carried to the

Dean's house. Receiving this answer I went myself, and being likewise denied the keys returned and acquainted my company that I was obliged to desire them to leave me, there being no possibility of having more liquor, and there being danger also, if they stayed longer, of not being able to get out of College. At a quarter after eleven I attended them to the gate, and sent the servant of the Common Room to knock at the Dean's door for the keys, and perceiving by his story there was some difficulty of obtaining them, I went to the Dean's, and knocked myself at the door, and desired of the Dean's servant the favour of the keys to let some friends out of the College. The servant answered that his Lord had the keys, and had given orders that no person should disturb him. I apprehending this answer to be rather an excuse of the servant to save himself trouble than that his Lord the Dean had really given such order, expressed myself to this purpose, that I had been at College almost nine years, and had never been denied the privilege of letting out friends at that time of night before. Upon my importunity the servant opened the gate for the gentlemen, and I returned to my chamber.

"I have laid before your Lordship and the Chapter the true state of this matter, by which I am very sorry that I have incurred your Lordship's displeasure. I ask pardon that I have not acted with that regard to the good order and discipline of this House, nor with that duty and reverence to your Lordship which became me. I hope from the goodness of your Lordship and the Chapter that you will be inclined to put the utmost favourable construction upon the imprudence I may have been guilty of either in my words or actions. I also beg you to do me the justice to believe that I did not say, as your Lordship hath been informed, 'knock down the door,' nor any such words so indecent and disrespectful to your Lordship. I submit myself to your

Lordship and the Chapter. And as I hope this will leave no impression upon you to my disadvantage, so I shall endeavour for the future by a behaviour full of duty and respect to approve myself not unworthy of your favour and forgiveness.

"Ed: Hammond."

One other strange entry appears for the first time during Dean Atterbury's reign, similar entries occurring not unfrequently in later years:

"1711, December 24. D^s^ Roberts having neglected to appear and do his duty of burying the Censor . . . is ordered to appear . . . next Term to answer for his neglect."

What was this mysterious function of "burying the Censor," so formally mentioned, and the neglect of which constituted so grave an offence?

It seems to have occurred each year on or about Christmas Eve, and to have consisted of a Latin speech made in the Hall in the presence of the Dean and Chapter, and the whole society. The new roll of College Officers was made up each year at the December audit, so that this event would coincide with the conclusion of the Censors' year of office, and probably the speech consisted of a recapitulation of the occurrences of the past year, with an appreciation of the Censors' exertions. The speech was written and spoken by some B.A. Student appointed by the Sub-dean, as may be gathered from the Chapter books, and the person selected sometimes shirked the duty altogether (as did Mr. Roberts), or, as in a later case, performed it in so "indecent and improper" a manner as to bring upon himself rustication for a whole year and other severe penalties.

The survival of this institution may perhaps be traced in the "Censors' speeches," which continued to be delivered down to December 1864, though by that date they had dwindled to a single speech. These speeches, as the custom existed in the early years of the present century, were Latin orations spoken in the College Hall at 7 P.M. on the last Wednesday and Saturday before collections in Michaelmas Term; they thus came at the end of the Censors' year of office. On the Wednesday the Dean and Chapter gave a dinner in the Chapter House, to which the College staff were invited, and at its close the company adjourned to the Hall, where all the members of the House were assembled, "pricked in" by the proper official. The Senior Censor, or, as he is officially designated, the Censor of Moral Philosophy, then delivered a Latin oration, summing up and commenting on the principal events of his year of office. On the Saturday afterwards the Junior Censor (or Censor of Natural Philosophy) made a similar oration before the same audience, and his speech was followed by a supper in the Common Room to which the noblemen were invited, as well as any B.A.s whom the Censors chose to ask. The M.A.s who were members of the Common Room attended of right, and the cost of the supper, toward which, at an earlier time, each M.A. paid his share, had come to be defrayed by the Censors. Then, as time went on, the two speeches became one, and the duty of delivering it fell on each Censor in turn.

From 1857–61 the Senior Censor alone made the speech; but he was Mr. Osborne Gordon, to whom Latin came as easily as English, and it was a high intellectual enjoyment to listen to his Ciceronian periods, as he described in felicitous phrases and with refined humour

the incidents of the year then drawing to its close. The institution was abolished after 1864. The attendance of the Chapter—few of whom were old Christ Church men—had come to be so small at a function at which they, above all, should have been present, that the Censor, not unreasonably, objected to the performance of a task in which so languid an interest was taken by the rulers of the College.

The Chapter dinners, to which the tutorial staff were invited, continued to be given yearly till 1867, when the new Governing Body came into existence. They were interesting ceremonies. The Dean and Canons, the hosts, sat together at the top of the table; their guests, the Censors and Tutors, sat together at the bottom. All were in academical dress; the beautiful pewter service, as lustrous as silver, was always used, and the custom of "taking wine" with the guests was carefully observed. The Censors' supper was changed in 1865 into a dinner, which took place at the close of the December Collections, when the undergraduates had departed for the vacation. It still exists, as the pleasantest, as well as the least formal, of all College gatherings.

Two volumes of Latin elegiac verses, published during the first half of the eighteenth century, remind us of an ancient usage, certainly observed as far back as the Stuart times, in which the members of Christ Church bore a distinguished part. They are entitled "Carmina Quadragesimalia, ab Ædis Christi Oxon: alumnis composita, et ab ejusdem Ædis Baccalaureis determinantibus in Schola Naturalis Philosophiæ publice recitata."

The first volume was published in 1723, and dedicated to the Students of Christ Church by one of their number, Charles Este, then a young graduate, afterwards chaplain to Archbishop Boulter, and Bishop of Waterford. The second volume, published in 1748, was edited by Anthony Parsons, also a Student and, like Este, a Westminster man.

The copies of Latin elegiacs contained in these volumes were written for the purpose of being prefixed, as a kind of humorous prologue, to the serious disputations on arid theses, which were delivered by the newly made Bachelors of Arts, on the completion of their academical exercises, in the season of Lent following the taking of the degree. This concluding ceremony was called "determining." Theses were announced, suggested by the Natural Philosophy teaching of the Schools; and the disputations upon them were preceded by a "lectio versuum" cognate to the theses, which was recited publicly in the School of Natural Philosophy, on the first day of Lent.

"Hinc illud efficitur," writes the editor of the second volume, "ut leviora hæc (uti nonnullis forsan videantur) duplicem afferant fructum: dumque adolescentium studia incitantur, disputationum severitas amænitate carminum temperetur."

Certainly they were "leviora," and "potius ad delectandum quam ad docendum comparata." They were of the character of epigrams, such as are still composed and recited by the Queen's Scholars of Westminster school —upon subjects announced by the Head Master— before the annual election to the Universities. And they were as a rule far removed from any serious

discussion of the thesis which formed their basis and justification. They were composed by the best scholars of Christ Church, such as P. Foulkes, Smalridge, Alsop, R. Freind, and, at a somewhat later date, Markham. A few may be quoted, as illustrations of their mode of treatment of the solemn theses.

The thesis "An idem semper agat idem?" suggests a quaint sketch of the Senior Fellow of a College, from the pen of a Westminster Student, James Bramston, the author of the *Art of Politics* and the *Man of Taste*. It was written in 1716.

"Isis qua lambit muros, ibi cernere possis
Cum veteri Socium consenuisse lare.
Huic idem vitæ rerumque revertitur ordo,
Normaque stat rigido non violanda seni.
Nam constans sibi, sole torum surgente relinquit,
Et redit ad notum, sole cadente, torum.
Huic eadem multos felis servata per annos,
Huic eadem lectum parvula sternit anus.
Conviva assiduus, lumbo venerandus ovino
Pascitur; et totos credo vorâsse greges.
Mox numerat passus sub aprici mœnibus horti;
Mox terit assueta scripta diurna manu.
Communem historias repetitas narrat ad ignem,
Dum tria sumuntur pocula, tresque tubi.
Quoque die hoc fecit Carolorum tempore, idemque
Temporibus faciet fors, Frederice,* tuis."

Another Westminster Student, Thomas Sutton, thus treats the question "An sonus sit luce velocior?":

"Xantippe tacitas sub pectore concipit iras,
Si vir forte redit potus ab urbe domum.

* Frederick Lewis, grandson of George I., and afterwards Prince of Wales, was a boy at this time.

Ille videt tetricæ nebulosum frontis amictum,
Et tempestatis signa futura timet.
Fulgur ab ignitis pernix scintillat ocellis;
Sero, sed certo fulmine lingua tonat."

The thesis—"an elementa sint gravia et levia?" suggests a charming description of the barometer by Temple Stanyan, another Westminster man. "An ars sit perfectior natura?" leads to some singularly graceful lines on the Nautilus: and "An mixtio sit alteratorum miscibilium unio?" is illustrated in some happy verses by P. Foulkes, describing the meeting of the Thame and Isis:

"Nympha Isis medios agros dum læta pererrat,
Incaluit madidæ Tamus amore Deæ.
Serpit amans tacitus, sinuosaque brachia circum
Fundit, et æterno fœdere jungit aquas.
Jam torrens idem, et limes datur unus utrique;
Nec doluere vices ille vel illa suas.
Tamus amat quicquid sua dulcis amaverat Isis,
Et quod Tamus amat, Tamus et Isis amant.
Agnoscas nullam Tami, nullam Isidis undam;
Commune imperium *Tamisis* unus habet."

The exercises, of which these are specimens, are perhaps sometimes disfigured by the disregard of certain metrical rules which nowadays are more strictly observed; but this is their chief, or only, fault. No similar collection seems to have been preserved in other Colleges, and no doubt the Westminster traditions encouraged the production of such "nugæ" at Christ Church.

Indeed, they long survived within the College walls. They probably ceased to be publicly recited soon after the middle of the eighteenth century: but they were kept

up as a College exercise till Dean Gaisford's time. A large collection of them is to be found in the Senior Censor's box, beginning with 1776, when Randolph, afterwards Bishop of London, was Censor under Dean Bagot. The same ancient theses recur continually, and the exercises are of the same kind, though the writers rarely venture on a humorous treatment of the subjects. The custom as described by Bishop Vowler Short, when Censor in 1826, was that the Dean in the first week after Christmas gave notice in writing in Hall, that all undergraduates who had been educated at public schools were required to send in three copies of Latin verse by the Saturday before or after Ash Wednesday, according as Easter fell early or late. The verses were sent in to the Senior Censor, and the best of them were selected for recitation on the Saturday before Collections in the Lent Term. Those undergraduates who wrote these exercises were excused their weekly themes till after the day on which the verses were sent up.

But the whole custom was then moribund. The discipline of the College was lax, and no strictness was observed in enforcing the Dean's order. Men sent up old copies of verses, and were not ambitious of being chosen to read their compositions. In 1826 sixteen copies were selected for recitation; in 1829 only twelve: and in 1832 the new Dean (Gaisford) set no subjects, and the institution died a natural death. But in 1829 and 1830 W. E. Gladstone was among the selected writers, and his copies of verses, though perhaps they do not rise above mediocrity, have a special interest for their writer's sake.

In 1829 he wrote on the thesis "An aliquid sit immutabile?"

"Vivimus incertum? Fortunæ lusus habemur?
Singula præteriens det rapiatve dies?
En nemus exanimum, qua se modo germina, verno
Tempore, purpureis explicuere comis.
Respice pacatum Neptuni numine pontum:
Territa mox tumido verberat astra salo.
Sed brevior brevibus, quas unda supervenit, undis,
Sed gelida, quam mox dissipat aura, nive;
Sed foliis sylvarum, et amici veris odore,
Quisquis honos placeat, quisquis alatur amor.
Jamne joci lususque sonant? Viget alma Juventas?
Funereæ forsan cras cecinere tubæ.
Nec Pietas, nec casta Fides, nec libera Virtus
Nigrantes vetuit mortis inire domos.
Certa tamen lex ipsa manet, labentibus annis,
Quæ jubet assiduas quæque subire vices."

Several of these later "Carmina" were selected from the Censor's stores by Linwood for publication in his *Anthologia Oxoniensis*, 1846.

CHAPTER VII

THE HANOVERIAN PERIOD TO 1783

Deans: Hugh Boulter, 1719–24; William Bradshaw, 1724–33; John Conybeare, 1733–55; David Gregory, 1756–67; William Markham, 1767–77; Lewis Bagot, 1777–83.

The transition from the Stuart Deans to those of the early Hanoverian period is not altogether a pleasant one. There is a lack of interest about the successors of the eminent men whose labours have been just recorded; they do not impress themselves upon the imagination; nor did they leave their mark upon the fortunes of Christ Church. And, indeed, though they were appointed to rule over it, some of them were almost strangers to its history and traditions; they cherished none of that cordial affection, the outgrowth of long and intimate knowledge, which had belonged to all the Deans from the time of the Restoration, with the one exception of Massey.

The unexpected news of the death of Smalridge reached George I. while on his journey to Hanover. He must have been entirely ignorant of the august traditions of Christ Church, or of the qualities needed for its Head; but a rich piece of preferment naturally interested him. Among the members of his suite on this occasion was Hugh Boulter, Rector of St. Olave's, Southwark, and Archdeacon of Surrey, who was attend-

ing him in the capacity of chaplain. To Boulter the King at once, of his "spontaneous act," offered the rich deanery and the poor bishopric which had fallen to his patronage by Smalridge's death.

Hugh Boulter (1719–24), was at this time 47 years of age. His sole connexion with Christ Church consisted in the fact that he had been a commoner there for a short time, more than a quarter of a century before; but he had passed quickly from Christ Church to Magdalen College, where he obtained a Demyship, leading in due course to a Fellowship. Hough was then President of the College; and with Boulter were elected Joseph Addison, and Joseph Wilcocks (afterwards Dean of Westminster, and Bishop of Gloucester and subsequently of Rochester): the "golden election," as Hough is said to have described them.

Boulter resided but a very short time at Magdalen College. He had in early life become chaplain to Sir Charles Hedges, and afterwards to Archbishop Tenison, and he gained his London preferment through the patronage of Lord Sunderland. He had no claim whatever to the Deanery of Christ Church, and after five years' tenure of the office, he passed on to the Primacy of All Ireland, at the express command of the King, it is said, after having definitely declined the preferment. His fame—and it is no mean fame—rests upon his noble work as Primate. During the famines of 1728 and 1740, his charity to the poor Irish was inexhaustible. He distributed corn most lavishly at his own expense; and it is stated that in the latter year 2500 needy persons were fed daily at the Poor House in Dublin, almost wholly at the charges of the Archbishop. He was greatly trusted by the Crown in

the government of Ireland, and ten times held the office of Lord Justice. He incurred indeed the ridicule of Swift, and Hallam writes in somewhat contemptuous terms of him as

"a worthy but narrow-minded man, who showed his egregious ignorance of policy in endeavouring to promote the wealth and happiness of the people, whom he at the same time studied to repress and discourage in respect of political freedom."

But he was undoubtedly a prelate of unbounded generosity and of unselfish aims. He left large sums of money in charity, and contributed largely to the new buildings at his old College of Magdalen, while Christ Church commemorates his name in a Boulter exhibition which he founded. He died in London in 1742, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

The only event of importance connected with Dean Boulter's reign at Christ Church was a disastrous fire in the Hall, in 1720. Some choristers, it is said, had been burning in the open fireplace in the centre the green boughs with which the Hall had been decorated at Christmas; some of these were caught in the louvre of the roof, the dry timber was set alight, and almost the whole of the ceiling was quickly destroyed. The present timber roof, probably modelled after the former one, though without the louvre, was then erected at a considerable cost. George I. contributed £1000 towards the expense, and the balance of the King's "Bounty money," as it was called, was paid over to the Fund for the new Library then slowly rising in Peckwater. A Chapter minute of April 10, 1720, orders, "That the Common Dining Hall of this House be arched, and so far as is necessary

paved with stone." By the "arching" is meant the vaulting under the Hall, to be seen still in the Treasury and adjoining rooms, and till lately extending over the Common Room. The damage done to the floor by the fire, and the removal of the central brazier, afforded the opportunity for this costly work. The side fireplaces, with their stately mantelpieces, were also constructed at this time.*

William Bradshaw (1724–32) succeeded Boulter in both Deanery and Bishopric. He was 53 years of age, and had been made a canon of Christ Church in the previous year. But he knew little of the place, having been educated at New College.

During his tenure of the Deanery the date of election of the Westminster Students was changed (in 1726) from the second Monday in Easter Term to the sixth Monday after Easter Day, that is, to the Monday in Rogation week. This change was effected by the royal authority, in accordance with a joint petition of the Deans of Westminster and Christ Church and the Master of Trinity (Bentley). The Library in Peckwater grew gradually; its design was slightly altered, the projected Venetian window in the front being changed into a window of the same form as the others. The Treasurer's office under the Hall was in 1731 strengthened and secured, so as to be made a fit place for the custody of the "Church's cash;" and an iron chest was provided to hold the money.

The manners of the age are illustrated by a case of duelling which had to be dealt with by the Dean and Chapter. Two Westminster Students of undergraduate

* See a letter from Mr. Terry to Dr. Charlett, printed in *Oxoniana*, vol. ii. p. 214–16.

standing, Ferrebee and Arbuthnot—the latter a son of Dr. Arbuthnot, the friend of Pope—fought a duel with swords over a love affair, and were both wounded. They were not expelled for this grave offence, but were required to ask pardon publicly in the Hall, and were admonished not to commit an offence of the kind again under pain of expulsion. Ferrebee, the elder of the two, was suspended from taking his degree for two years, and had to translate the whole of Cicero's *De Oratore*. Arbuthnot received a smaller punishment; he had been more severely wounded, and his adversary was said to have been the aggressor.

One other name, of a very different kind, should be mentioned in contrast with these two quarrelsome youths. In the same year, 1726, Charles Wesley was elected Head from Westminster. His eldest brother, Samuel, had gained a Westminster Studentship fifteen years before, and was now an usher at his old school. His more famous brother, John, had matriculated at Christ Church as a commoner from Charterhouse in 1720, had been ordained deacon in the Cathedral in 1725, and was now just going into residence at Lincoln College, where he had gained a Fellowship. Charles, "the sweet singer of Methodism," united with a few other undergraduates for the purpose of devotion and charity, and received the Sacrament weekly. It is pleasant to know that at this time there was a weekly celebration at Christ Church instead of the monthly celebration which had been established at the Restoration. And we learn, incidentally, that it was open to other than Christ Church men, for George Whitefield, the poor servitor at Pembroke College, has recorded the fact that he used to cross over from his College every

Sunday morning to receive the Sacrament in the Cathedral, there being no weekly Communion at Pembroke.

One other indication of the state of Christ Church under Bradshaw is found in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. Johnson was informed that his friend Taylor was intending to enter Pembroke College in 1730. But, in spite of Johnson's loyalty to his own College, he dissuaded Taylor from thus acting, on the ground that he would find no able Tutor there; and, after making inquiries, he recommended him to enter at Christ Church, where he would be under the instruction of the ablest Tutor in Oxford, Mr. Bateman.

Dean Bradshaw died in December 1732, and was buried in Bristol Cathedral. He left a legacy of £300 towards the completion of the new Library in Peckwater.

To Bradshaw succeeded a Dean who had not even the slender connexion with Christ Church which was enjoyed by his two predecessors. *John Conybeare* (1733–55) was a complete stranger to the House over which he was called to preside, and at the time of his appointment was Rector of Exeter College. He was a west country man, son of the Vicar of Pinhoe in Devon, between which county and Exeter College there was then, as now, a close alliance ; and he had been educated at Exeter Free School. He resided for long in Oxford, and held the living of St. Clement's for many years, even after he became Dean, and was elected Rector of his College in 1730. Three years afterwards he was preferred to Christ Church. Why the selection of a perfect stranger was made is a matter of conjecture. It is sometimes asserted that Christ Church was then in a bad

state of discipline, and needed the strong hand of an outsider "to cleanse out that Augean stable," as Mr. Boase* quotes the words from some unnamed authority. But there is no evidence to show that Christ Church was in this desperate condition. On the contrary, the College seems to have been full and prosperous, and by no means in need of drastic treatment. *Terræ filius* in 1733, whose words may be accepted as an indication, at any rate, of the current opinion of Oxford, was evidently rather jealous of this great Society. Christ Church, he declared,†

"was unpopular in the University. The place was indeed at its zenith, had its fill of rich aristocrats, its tutors were intelligent, and appreciated the value of their connexion with Westminster; the men gave themselves airs; with wonderful ignorance and conceit they claimed to belong to a House, not to a College; those of other Colleges were 'Squils' and 'Hodmen'; they were accustomed, with suppressed blushes, to style their foundation 'royal and ample.' Gibbon was wrong in saying that Locke was expelled on speculative grounds, but they understood him as little as they saw why such a fuss should be made about Handel. Accordingly this *Terræ filius* sneers at the establishment, and brands the new Dean as a courtier."

This curious production of Oxford wit, if wit it may be called, was written just at the time when the controversy between the partisans and depreciators of Handel was at its height. The phrase "Squils and Hodmen" needs some explanation. The first word is now happily forgotten, but was in use within the last twenty years,

* *Registrum Collegii Exoniensis* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. 1894), p. cxxxvii.

† See Wordsworth's *Social Life at the Universities in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 304.

as a colloquial designation of members of other colleges. It was supposed to be a corruption of "Ex-Collegees," or "Esquilini." The word "Hodmen" has an interesting literary history. In Littleton's dictionary (1677) it is explained as "advena," "alienigena," as opposed to the Westminster Students at Christ Church, who considered themselves "indigenæ." From this usage it might easily come to be identified with "Squils." But in 1706 the compiler of another dictionary, who must have read Littleton carelessly, explains it as a name for a young Westminster scholar; and this mistake is repeated in all the later dictionaries that mention the word. The climax is reached in Halliwell's dictionary, 1855, where the word is explained as a nickname for a Canon of Christ Church!

Conybeare remained at Christ Church till his death in 1755. In 1751 he was appointed to the Bishopric of Bristol, on the promotion of Joseph Butler to Durham; and he held the Deanery, as his two predecessors had done, *in commendam* with the Bishopric. He was a man of considerable attainments, a learned theologian, and an active ruler. Hearne, indeed, whose Jacobite prejudices always warped his judgment, rather sneers at him. The new Dean, he writes,

"makes a great stir in the College, at present pretending to great matters, such as locking up the gates at nine o'clock at night, having the keys brought up to him, turning out young women from being bed-makers, having the kitchen (which he visits) cleansed, and I know not what, aiming at a wonderful character, even to exceed that truly great man Bishop Fell, to whom he is not in the least to be compared; as neither is he to Dean Aldrich, nor Dean Atterbury, nor even Dean Smalridge."

But the sneer seems to have been ill-deserved. In the government of his House, indeed, Conybeare had the valuable assistance of David Gregory, who was made canon in 1736, and succeeded him as Dean; a man who was familiar with all the customs and traditions of the place. But Conybeare was by no means an insignificant personage. The records of the Chapter imply that life in College passed quietly and happily under his rule, and that he was careful in looking after all matters that concerned its welfare. Large sums were spent upon the fabric. The Hall was repaired and beautified at considerable cost, under the guidance of Dr. Gregory's taste. The great quadrangle was much improved, and the building of the new Library vigorously pushed forward. Very few breaches of discipline came before the Chapter, but the strong undercurrent of Jacobitism, which survived in Oxford to a much later date, was shown in the hearty sympathy which the Pretender's attempt evoked; and in June 1750, five years after that event, we find the following entry relating to a Westminster undergraduate Student, afterwards Vicar of Broad Hinton, Wilts:

"Whereas James, a student of this House, hath for a long time behaved very irregularly, and not been reformed, either by the admonitions of his Tutor or the censures of the College Officers; and whereas he did on the 10th of this instant June provide entertainment both of dinner and supper for several persons to celebrate that day as the birthday of the Pretender (as appears by some healths by him proposed as well as several other scandalous circumstances) in violation of his duty to his Majesty and to the great scandal of this House; after which he did force himself out of the College Gate at a very late hour by threatening to kill the porter; and being cited by a paper set up in the

Hall to make his appearance before the Dean and Chapter on Monday the 18th of this instant June he did not appear; and as the foregoing particulars are sufficiently evident, partly by his own examination by the Dean, and partly by other credible proof: it is ordered by the Dean and Chapter that the said James be immediately expelled this House, and he is hereby declared to be expelled this House."

Two other Westminster Students, Sealey and Barnes, were also severely punished for complicity in James's "enormity." Barnes was the father of Frederick Barnes (clarum et venerabile nomen) who died in 1859, after serving Christ Church as Student and Canon for nearly 70 years.

It is probably not generally known that under the original statutes of St. John Baptist College, the founder, Sir Thomas White, had enjoined that the Fellows, after electing their President, should present the person chosen to the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, and request that he might be admitted to his office by that body. This rather humiliating condition seems to have been forced on the founder somewhat against his will. The site and buildings of St. Bernard's College, originally founded by Archbishop Chichele, and made over by him to the Cistercian monks, had been granted by Henry VIII. to Christ Church, and in conveying this property to the new foundation, for which a licence had been granted on May 1, 1555, at a yearly rent of twenty shillings, it was stipulated by the Dean and Chapter, that Sir Thomas White should select the first President from among the Canons or Students of Christ Church, and that his successors, if not members of St. John's, should be chosen from the foundation of Christ Church; and that the

Head should be admitted by the Dean and Chapter, within seven days after his nomination. Accordingly the ceremony of admission was always performed, till the original statutes gave place to the new Ordinance framed under the University Commission; and a full description occurs in the Chapter books of the admission of William Derham, who was nominated as President in 1748.

On April 22 in that year,

"William Derham Doctor in Divinity and President of St. John Baptist College in the University of Oxford elect, Edward Berdmore, Doctor of Laws and Vice-President of St. John Baptist College aforesaid, and a great number of the Fellows and other members of the said College came in a public procession to the Chapter House."

The Dean and Canons were there assembled, and the Vice-President presented four Latin instruments, showing that all the steps of the election had been duly observed. These were read by the Registrar:

"Whereupon the said Edward Berdmore the Vice-President aforesaid presented the said William Derham unto the said Dean and Chapter, and requested the said Dean and Chapter in a short Latin oration for that purpose made to admit the said William Derham selected as aforesaid to be President of St. John Baptist College aforesaid, and the said William Derham having first publicly read and taken the oath entitled 'juramentum Præsidentis,' the said John Conybeare did admit the said William Derham President of St. John Baptist College aforesaid, as the custom is."

Such was the scene, and it was a tradition in Christ Church that the large folding doors which existed in the Chapter Room before its restoration were never opened

except at the occurrence of this remarkable ceremony. Dr. Wynter was the last President so admitted.

In one other interesting academical incident Dean Conybeare acted a leading part. In 1753 Richard Newton, the aged Principal of Hertford College, died. Newton was a man of considerable force of character, and possessed good private means in his manor of Lavendon. More than 40 years previously, in 1710, he had been appointed on Aldrich's recommendation to the post of Principal of Hart Hall. The chapel, dedicated to St. Catharine, and the adjoining block of chambers, which may still be seen on the south side of Hertford College quadrangle, were built by him at a cost of £1500. He was very anxious to raise his Hall to the dignity of a College, and he gained his wish in 1740, in spite of the opposition of Exeter College, led by Conybeare when Rector. There had been a close connexion between Hart Hall and Exeter College. Walter Stapledon had used the buildings for his twelve scholars; it had been called Stapledon Hall; and for a long while its Principals had been nominated by Exeter College. Under the new charter which Newton procured, the appointment of future Principals of the College was vested in the Chancellor of the University, and if he failed to appoint within a month, it lapsed to the Dean of Christ Church. On Newton's death the Earl of Arran, who was Chancellor, seems to have failed to make his nomination within the prescribed time, and Dean Conybeare quickly claimed his right, and named the Rev. William Sharpe, a Westminster Student, to fill the vacancy. A week later the Dean, accompanied by the Sub-dean and another Canon, presented himself with his nominee at the gate of Hertford College, and

proceeded to the dining Hall. There, however, he was confronted by the Rev. Fowler Comings, one of the junior Fellows of the small society, who claimed to be Lord Arran's nominee, and demanded of the Dean that he should be admitted. Conybeare refused; a protest was made, but not listened to; Sharpe was placed in the Principal's chair in the Hall, delivered a Latin speech, and took the oaths. Then a move was made to the chapel, where service was read, and the Holy Communion administered, and the scene ended by Sharpe's being put into corporal possession of his lodgings. No further protests were made, but Sharpe, who had been Tutor and Censor of Christ Church, and was a good Greek scholar, was soon dissatisfied with his new position. He resigned the Headship and returned to his rooms in Christ Church. He afterwards became Professor of Greek on the resignation of S. Dickens. Hertford College suffered greatly from want of funds, but struggled on till 1805, when, at the death of its Principal, Dr. Hodgson, it became extinct.

Dean Conybeare died in 1755, and was buried in Bristol Cathedral.

With his successor *David Gregory* (1756–67) the Deanery was once more occupied, as was fitting, by one who had received his education at Christ Church. Gregory was admirably qualified for the post. His father, who bore the same christian name, was a Scotchman and a distinguished mathematician. He had been Savilian Professor at Oxford, and a monument erected by his widow, and bearing his likeness, may still be seen on the wall of the south nave aisle of St. Mary's. The son had been educated at Westminster, and had won a Studentship at Christ Church. He was

a man of cultivated tastes and wide knowledge, and he had travelled much in Europe. He was a good modern linguist, and on the establishment by the King of a Chair of Modern History and Languages, in 1723, he he had been appointed as the first Professor of the subject. This post he resigned on his appointment to a Canonry of Christ Church in 1736. He was promoted to the Deanery in May 1756, ten months after Conybeare's death. Three years later he accepted the Mastership of Sherborne Hospital in the Bishopric of Durham, and made great improvements in the buildings there. At Christ Church his name is principally associated with the completion of the Library in 1761; it is stated that the whole of the interior was executed entirely according to his taste and under his personal supervision. The busts of George I. and George II., now in the Library but formerly in the Hall, bear his name as donor. Many valuable books from his private library were left to Christ Church. They may be found in the uppermost chamber, or hyperöon, of the closely locked Wake archives, but alas! seem never to have been catalogued.

Lord Shelburne, who entered at Christ Church in 1753, has left a description of the condition of the College as he remembered it at that time. He states that W. Holwell, his Tutor,

"was in strong opposition to the Westminsters, always the ruling party at Christ Church. . . Dr. Gregory succeeded Dr. Conybeare, and was very kind to me, conversed familiarly and frequently with me, had kept good company, was a gentleman though not a scholar, and gave me notions of people and things which were afterwards useful to me. . . . I was likewise much connected during all the

From a photograph by the [*Oxford Camera Club*

THE NEW LIBRARY, COMPLETED 1761

time I was at College with Mr. Hamilton Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork. As to the rest, the College was very low, a proof of it is that no one who was there in my time has made much figure either as public man or man of letters. The Duke of Portland is the only one I recollect to have his name come before the public."

Two valuable gifts were bestowed upon the College about this time: a costly and curious collection of English coins, presented in 1763 by Dr. Barton, Canon of the 2nd stall; and a bequest of Classical coins by Robert Welbourne, a Westminster Student, friend of Bishop Horne and Jones of Nayland, who died at his living of Wendlebury in 1764.

Dean Gregory greatly interested himself in the fabric of the College, and on the completion of the Library another addition to the buildings was proposed. Dr. Matthew Lee, a former Westminster Student and physician to Frederick, Prince of Wales, had died in 1755. He had amassed a considerable fortune, and desired, in leaving a large sum to Christ Church, to benefit especially the Westminster Students, and also to encourage the study of Anatomy by the erection of a suitable school and the endowment of a Readership in that subject. In 1766 the Dean and Chapter resolved to carry out his intentions, at least in part, by building an Anatomy School in what was then called the school court, on the south side of the Hall, close by the organist's house. A legacy from Dr. John Freind was to be applied to the purpose as far as it would go, and Dr. Lee's benefaction was to supply the rest of the money. Mr. H. Keen, who three years later designed the Fisher building at Balliol College, was selected as

the architect, and his estimate of £2289 for the whole building was accepted. The vicinity of the new school was known down to recent days as "skeleton corner," in allusion to the character of the investigations which, under successive Lee's Readers in Anatomy, were carried on there for nearly a century. The building is now a Chemical Laboratory under the charge of the Lee's Reader in that subject. The Lee's Reader in Anatomy has migrated, with his collections, to the University Museum; and the Reader in Physics (for there are now three Lee's Readers) has his quarters in another part of the College.

Dean Gregory died in 1767, and was buried in Christ Church. No portrait of him exists in Oxford. He was succeeded by a famous man, *William Markham* (1767–76). Markham, like Gregory, had been a Westminster Student. He was a brilliant scholar, and his name often occurs among the writers of the *Carmina Quadragesimalia*. At the age of 33, after serving the College as Tutor, he had been appointed by Dean Conybeare to the Headmastership of his old school, a post which he occupied with great distinction until his nomination to the Deanery of Rochester in 1765. Two years later he was appointed Dean of Christ Church, and it is interesting to note that he was the first Headmaster of Westminster to attain to that dignity, although it was a position naturally and intimately connected with the royal school. In 1771 he was consecrated Bishop of Chester; but he held the Deanery in *commendam* with that see, till his promotion to the Archbishopric of York in 1776. He was also made Preceptor to the Prince of Wales and Bishop of Osnaburg in the year in which he became a Bishop.

Of Markham's work as Headmaster this is not the place to speak. The school prospered under his rule, and owes him a special debt of gratitude as the donor of the first set of classical scenes that were used in the dormitory theatre. They were painted from a design by "Athenian" Stuart, and served, with one renewal, for 98 years. Jeremy Bentham indeed, who was a boy under him for five years, from the age of seven to twelve, describes him in somewhat chilling terms:

"Our great glory was Dr. Markham. He was a tall, portly man, and 'high he held his head.' His business was rather in courting the great than in attending to the school. Any excuse served his purpose for deserting his post. We stood prodigiously in awe of him; indeed he was an object of adoration."

This is probably an utterly unfair and distorted estimate; it is not in any way confirmed by what is known of Markham's life and character.

During his nine years' reign as Dean, further progress was made with the College buildings. The Anatomy School was finished; the north cloister was appropriated for a muniment room, according to Mr. Keen's design; a disfigurement which was not removed till 1871. "The lower room at the east end of the Library" was fitted up, under the supervision of the same architect, at a cost of £551. The old Library, which had been stripped of its books and was no longer needed for that purpose, after serving for a few years as a lecture room, was, in 1775, ordered to be converted into decent rooms for the accommodation of the Westminster Students, at the charge of Dr. Lee's benefaction. This change involved a serious mutilation of an ancient and beautiful

building, the former monastic refectory. Its graceful perpendicular windows are still intact on the north side, and the exterior of the reading pulpit is visible on the south side. At the west end the stone arch of the large window remains, though the tracery has vanished; and below it can be seen the main doorway, which was approached by a short flight of stone steps leading from the present level of the quadrangle to a covered porch. One may venture to express the hope that the present Governing Body will in due time restore this noble apartment to its original condition. It would serve excellently for many purposes.

The chapter books of this period contain some curious records of the exercise of authority; among them the unique instance of the infliction of a severe censure on no less a person than the senior Censor himself, who was Francis Atterbury, grandson of the famous dean. Dr. Atterbury (he had taken the degree of D.C.L. a few weeks before) delivered the Censor's speech in the Hall on December 12, 1768, and those members of the Chapter who were present on the occasion took umbrage at some expressions that he used. The Dean was therefore desired to send for him and demand the speech. Atterbury's answer was, that he had burnt it. Thereupon he was summoned, as though he were an undergraduate in disgrace, to appear before the Chapter, and the Dean administered a formal rebuke, in the following words, which were duly entered on the chapter minutes:—

"Dr. Atterbury, When your speech was demanded, your answer was that you had burnt it. If the speech had been before us we should have been better able to judge what notice should be taken of it; but though we have

From Skelton's engraving of a] [*sketch by Archdeacon Gooch*

THE OLD LIBRARY BEFORE 1775

but an imperfect apprehension of it, as you were not distinctly heard, we are all of opinion that there were some expressions in it which seemed to reflect on the proceedings of our visitor. It was at best very indiscreet to meddle with matters which were foreign to the business of your speech, and no way subject to your cognisance. You are to understand, therefore, that we consider that part of your speech as very disrespectful to the Chancellor,* as very offensive to your hearers, and in every view highly improper. I am now, in my own name and that of the Chapter, to express our strongest disapprobation of what you have done, and you are to consider what I have said as a censure."

One wonders what the exact remarks were which called forth these stern words. Atterbury had been under Markham as a boy, and must have felt as though his old headmaster were dealing with him after the fashion of school days. The censure however does not seem to have hurt him. He lived to the age of 88, not dying till 1822.

Some other entries refer, with more propriety, to the misdeeds of undergraduates. On one occasion, a Student is rebuked for

"having been guilty of repeated irregularities and of insults offered to the censor's authority by a contemptuous neglect of his admonitions, and by appearing in a grotesque habit in the Latin chapel at evening prayers."

Another Student, for a grave offence which would in these days be promptly visited by expulsion, was rusticated for six months, and condemned to perform an imposition of so enormous a length that it deserves

*Lord Chancellor Camden, as Visitor, had just allowed an appeal of a Student against his deprivation by the Dean and Chapter.

to be recorded for that reason alone. He was ordered (1) to abridge the whole of Herodotus; (2) to draw out schemes and enunciations and to master Euclid, books 5, 6, 11, 12; (3) to write down and work all the examples in McLaurin's Algebra, part I; (4) to make notes on all St. Paul's Epistles, and a careful diary of the hundred last Psalms in Hebrew; (5) to translate into Latin both parts of the ninth discourse of the second volume of Sherlock's sermons.

As archbishop, Markham was a stately and munificent prelate. The churches of York, Southwell, and Ripon all experienced his bounty; and he gave largely to the fund for erecting the new buildings of Queen's College, Oxford, of which society he was Visitor, in virtue of his archbishopric. In 1779 he presented Christ Church with his portrait, a masterpiece of Sir Joshua Reynolds, which is now in the Hall. The College also possesses two copies of a rare engraving of the archbishop in his old age, from a picture by Hoppner, one in the Chapter house and one in the Common Room. They were presented by his old pupil, the Prince Regent. Markham died in 1807, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. His descendants have been most loyal to the old school where he and they were educated.

Lewis Bagot (1777–83), who succeeded Markham in the deanery, had been a town boy at Westminster, and a canoneer Student at Christ Church. In 1764 he succeeded John Moore, the future archbishop of Canterbury, as canon of the first stall, and passed thence to the deanery. He held the deanery for about a year *in commendam* with the bishopric of Bristol, and vacated it on his promotion to Norwich in 1783. Seven years afterwards he was

transferred to the richer see of St. Asaph. Bagot had a singularly handsome and refined presence; as one looks at his portrait, by Hoppner, in the Hall, or his bust in the Library, one can readily believe that he was "a mild, amiable, and conscientious prelate, of simple manners, a warm heart, and a liberal soul."

The completion of Canterbury Quadrangle, as it now exists, was carried out at this time. Canterbury College, or Hall, had been founded by Archbishop Islip in 1363, as a place of training for the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, and became the property of Christ Church under Henry VIII.'s dotation. The old buildings, which dated in part from the fourteenth century, and included the refectory that Dean Massey had fitted up as a chapel for Roman Catholic services, had been more or less repaired in Duppa's time, but they were by this time almost ruinous, and matched ill with their stately neighbours, the new library and Aldrich's Peckwater quadrangle. Funds were now forthcoming for the erection of a new quadrangle through the munificence of Richard Robinson, Archbishop of Armagh, a former Westminster Student, who gave £1000 for that purpose in 1773, and added a like sum two years later. The design was furnished by Wyatt, and the work seems to have been begun as early as 1773. The gateway, however, over which Robinson's generosity is rightly recorded, was not finished till 1778. A glance at the quadrangle will show that the block of buildings at the south-west corner, adjoining the gate leading to the Dean's garden, is of a different character from the rest, and of loftier elevation, harmonising with Peckwater in design, and containing the best sets of rooms. The explanation of the fact is that this staircase was not erected till 1783,

and was due to a further act of munificence on the part of the Archbishop, who erected it entirely at his own charges, at a cost, it is stated, of £4000. In a chapter minute of December 23, 1783, it is ordered that a letter be written to his Grace, thanking him for his "repeated and unparalleled acts of generosity," and that the Dean and treasurer "be empowered to make preparations for the new building in Canterbury quadrangle, and to carry it into execution with all convenient expedition." On January 20, 1783, we further read:

"The Lord Primate of Ireland having signified to the Chapter his very generous intention of erecting and covering in at his own charge a new building on the south side of Canterbury quadrangle, according to Mr. Wyatt's plan, on condition that the Chapter appropriate the apartments in the building to the sole use of noblemen and gentlemen commoners, it is hereby ordered that those apartments be so appropriated, and that compensation be made to the Students from among the present House rooms."

This minute explains why, so long as these privileged classes of undergraduates existed in Christ Church, they occupied this portion of the college. The late Duke of Albany's rooms were in this staircase for several years after he had ceased to reside at Wykeham House.

Dean Bagot is said to have found the discipline of the college in a very bad state, and, with the help of John Randolph, who was then one of the censors, to have introduced several much needed reforms, which were adopted and carried out still further by his successor, Cyril Jackson. It is especially mentioned that the spirit of gambling was rife among the young men, an evil at all times very difficult to discover. Certainly the

Chapter books—in the occasional glimpses which they afford into the daily life of the college—show that disorder of a serious kind had not unfrequently to be repressed. A Westminster Student (afterwards a distinguished barrister) was convicted of having acted as second in a projected duel between two gentlemen commoners; he had loaded the pistols for them, whereas the Chapter held that he ought to have reported so notorious a breach of the peace to the College officers. He was ordered to compose and recite in the Hall an English declaration against duelling, and to translate into Latin the first six sermons of Bishop Sherlock.

George Colman the younger, who matriculated at Christ Church in 1780, describes the College as being very full, so that rooms were difficult to obtain. There were many distinguished undergraduates in residence then, among them being Lord Wellesley, Lord Grenville, and Charles Abbot, afterwards Speaker of the House of Commons and Lord Colchester. It is incidentally mentioned that the dinner hour in Hall was 3 P.M. The College bore on the whole a high character in general estimation, and probably Bagot reaped the benefit of these improvements in the studies of the place which Gibbon alludes to, and which may be particularly associated with the names of his immediate predecessors, Deans Gregory and Markham.

"Under the auspices of the late deans," writes Gibbon, "a more regular discipline has been introduced, as I am told, at Christ Church; a course of classical and philosophical studies is proposed, and even pursued, in that numerous seminary; learning has been made a duty, a pleasure, and even a fashion; and several young gentlemen do honour to the college in which they have been educated."

Certainly a high value was attached to the Studentships at Christ Church, as is illustrated by the *Letters of Radcliffe and James*, published by the Oxford Historical Society. The utmost efforts were made to procure a nomination for young James, first from Dr. Browne, one of the canons, and after his death, through the influence of Archbishop Markham and Cyril Jackson. But the attempts were unsuccessful. "We have been asking for a morsel, I find," writes the young man's father, "far too delicious for a common beggar."

CHAPTER VIII

CHRIST CHURCH UNDER CYRIL JACKSON

Dean : Cyril Jackson, 1783–1809.

Cyril Jackson (1783–1809), with whom came an epoch of unequalled prosperity and distinction to Christ Church, was Bagot's successor. In him were recalled the days of John Fell and Aldrich; and like them he devoted himself heart and soul, with undivided loyalty, to the welfare of his House; he never sought or desired preferment; he is said to have persistently declined bishoprics; it is certain that he refused the Primacy of Ireland on the death of Newcome, and the Bishopric of Oxford on the death of Smallwell. On the latter occasion he is reported to have offered "my brother Bill," as his substitute, and the offer was accepted.

The work of his life was done in Christ Church, and for Christ Church alone, and a very deep impression he made upon the whole Society. The Deans of the Hanoverian period, before his time, had failed in this respect. Good and able men as they undoubtedly were, they had suffered from having divided interests. The evil economy of paying the Bishop of Bristol by the revenues of the deanery of Christ Church made it impossible for those who held the double preferment to discharge with efficiency the duties of both positions.

Gregory was the only Dean, since the days of Atterbury, who did not hold the deanery *in commendam* with a bishopric for a longer or shorter period. John Fell had indeed been Bishop of Oxford, but this dignity did not withdraw him from his collegiate work. He refused the Primacy of Ireland, and is said to have accepted the see of Oxford—and this not till he had been Dean for fifteen years—"purposely to keep him in his College, that he might do further good therein, and in the University." Our greatest Deans have assuredly been those who have been content to dedicate their best powers simply and unreservedly to the service of their House. And this was emphatically the case with Cyril Jackson.

His father was a medical man, who practised at Halifax, and afterwards at York and Stamford. Cyril received his first schooling at Halifax and York, and was then sent to Westminster, where he was elected head into college in 1760, at the age of 14. Markham, who was then Headmaster, conceived a warm regard for him, and ranked him as one of his two most highly valued pupils. From Westminster he was elected head to Trinity, Cambridge, in 1764. But having the prospect of obtaining a canoneer Studentship if he came to Oxford, he declined the Cambridge option, and entered as a commoner at Christ Church, being soon afterwards placed upon the roll of Students. When Markham was made preceptor to the royal Princes he appears to have recommended Jackson, then 25 years old, for the post of sub-preceptor. He lost this post, however, in 1776, apparently through some household intrigues. He then entered into Holy Orders; was preacher at Lincoln's Inn in 1779, and in that year was also appointed to a canonry at Christ Church. For a short time he also held

the Yorkshire living of Kirkby Cleveland. In 1783 he became Dean, and the only preferment which he held with the deanery was a prebend of Southwell. A letter from the Prince of Wales to C. J. Fox, expressing his extreme gratification on Jackson's appointment to the deanery, shows the high regard in which he was held by his former pupil, a regard which was not impaired as time went on.

Cyril Jackson had a thorough intellectual equipment for his new position. He was a distinguished scholar and mathematician, a Fellow of the Royal Society, a good botanist, and a student of architecture. Some pretty Latin elegiacs from his pen, which are not widely known, illustrate the simplicity of his tastes, and his unambitious character.

"Si mihi, si liceat traducere leniter ævum,
Non pompam, nec opes, nec mihi regna peto.
Vellem ut divini pandens mysteria verbi
Vitam in secreto rure quietus agam.
Curtatis decimis, modicoque beatus agello,
Virtute et pura sim pietate sacer.
Adsint et Graiæ comites Latiæque Camenæ,
Et faveat lepida conjuge castus Hymen.
Quid restat? Tandem mihi cura dolorque valete,
Hoc tantum superest, discere posse mori."

But Jackson brought to the office of Dean not only high intellectual attainments, but those incommunicable gifts which go to make a great ruler. He had a magnificent and dignified presence; his authority was absolute; and he was able to win affection as well as obedience. He was not only a good disciplinarian, but he took a lively personal interest in the studies and behaviour of

the undergraduates, followed their careers with sympathy, and helped them on in the world. He would have five or six to dinner with him of an evening, and make friends with them; and when he travelled in the long vacation would take some young man of promise as his companion. His letters to Sir Robert Peel after his first successes in the House of Commons show his intense and sympathetic interest in the opening career of one of his favourite pupils, whose public life began just after Jackson's retirement from Christ Church. On hearing of Peel's brilliant maiden speech, as seconder of the Address at the opening of the session of 1810, he wrote as follows:

"Though I have dismissed Christ Church in the general totally and entirely from my thoughts, yet I have not divested myself, nor do I wish to do so, of the interest which I took in the well-doing of those whom I generally valued. Whether you are one of such number or not you can perhaps form a tolerable guess. Other people certainly seem to think you are, for I have received half a dozen letters on the subject of last Tuesday night, and most of them are from persons on whose judgment I can depend. I do therefore most graciously condescend to tell you that I am very much pleased—more than I thought I could have been with anything of the sort—and if I had you here I would feed you with ling and cranberry tart. Now remember what I say. Give the last high finish to all that you now possess by the continual reading of Homer. Let no day pass without your having him in your hands. Elevate your own mind by the continual meditation of the vastness of his comprehension and the unerring accuracy of all his conceptions. If you will but read him four or five times over every year, in half a dozen years you will know him by heart, and he well deserves it. He

alone of mortal men thoroughly understood the human mind. He alone possesses the great secret of knowing how far ornament can be carried, what degree of it gives strength to a sentiment, and what overwhelms and oppresses it."*

Then came Peel's second speech, in defence of the Walcheren expedition, and it elicited this delightful letter:

"I learnt from to-day's post from those on whom I can depend that on Friday night you surpassed your former self, to use the very expression of one of the letters I have received. I suppose, therefore, you have been reading Homer. I have only one conclusion to draw, and I trust and believe it is your conclusion also. Work very hard and unremittingly. Work, as I used to say sometimes, like a tiger, or like a dragon, if dragons work more and harder than tigers. Don't be afraid of killing yourself. Only retain, which is essential, your former temperance and exercise, and your aversion to mere lounge, and then you will have abundant time both for hard work and company, which last is as necessary to your future situation as even the hard work I speak of, and as much is to be got from it. Be assured that I shall pursue you as long as I live with a jealous and watchful eye. Woe be to you if you fail me! I trust and hope you will not be tempted to take employment too early, nor any, at any time, but what is really efficient and of high consideration. Therefore wait till the time for that is come."†

How strong a stimulus must such letters have given to the young statesman, fired with noble ambitions, and already braced to further efforts by the encouragement of his first parliamentary triumph!

* Parker's *Sir Robert Peel*, i. 27. † *Ibid.* 29.

Like many other remarkable men who have had to deal with the young, Jackson became an object of imitation to those over whom he ruled. His handwriting was copied; even the pose of his head, his way of wearing his cap, and carrying his hands, were said to have descended to his immediate successors in the deanery. When he appeared in the quadrangle every head was bared; even tutors and censors removed their caps; the college servants alone were directed to remain covered, to mark the distinction between them and members of the College. As a preacher Jackson was learned and impressive. One who heard his university sermons describes the apparent zest with which

"he smacked his lips (a peculiar action of his) as he once enunciated his text (first duly given in English) in what he called upon us to observe as 'the almost classical Greek of St. James, *ἀνὴρ δίψυχος, ἀκατάστατος ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ*.'"

Jackson's influence was also very widely felt in political circles. He was in the confidence of royalty and of statesmen. He had free access to Carlton House; and in the events which led to the fall of the Addington ministry in 1804 he took an important though a private part. In the appointments of bishops he was often consulted, and was on friendly terms with most of the prominent statesmen of the time. With Speaker Abbot he was in close intimacy.

And yet to the historian of Christ Church the twenty-six years' reign of the great "Cyril," as he was familiarly called, is a comparatively uneventful period. It forms rather a study of a strong and charming personality, affecting the whole life of the college, and leaving a very

fragrant memory behind. The epoch is one of growth and success, of influence penetrating far beyond the walls of Christ Church to English society at large, where—in the greater world of action—statesmen, divines and men of letters showed the results of his wise government. His time embraced the whole period of the French Revolution and the Peninsular War down to the capture of Saragossa; and hints of stirring public events are to be traced occasionally in the chapter records. In 1795 all members of the House are taxed by a "decrement," to raise the sum "requisite to make up the quota of the college to be paid to the vice-chancellor for the purpose of raising men for the service of the Navy." On more than one occasion contributions are voted from the chapter purse for the "French emigrants"; and on October 31, 1797, the treasurer is ordered to "pay the expenses of the illumination on account of Admiral Duncan's victory over the Dutch," that is, the Battle of Camperdown, October 11.

Since the days of Aldrich it had been customary for the Deans of Christ Church to decline the office of vice-chancellor; and Jackson followed the established precedent. His name, therefore, is not prominently associated with academical affairs, except with one very important reform, which had far-reaching consequences: the framing of the new examination statute, with the award of honours to those candidates who distinguished themselves. Dean Jackson had always attached great importance to the college examinations at Christ Church, and now took a leading part, in co-operation with Dr. Eveleigh, provost of Oriel, and Dr. Parsons, master of Balliol, in framing this statute, which came into

operation in 1802. In that year was issued the first list of those "qui examinatoribus publicis se commendaverunt," and one of the two who were honoured with the title "maximè" was a Christ Church man, J. Marriott.* Two years later three members of Christ Church vindicated the "maximè" distinction to themselves, and the series of subsequent lists shows how brilliant were the performances of members of our House during Cyril Jackson's last years. In 1807 two schools took the place of one, and the men were arranged, as they still are, under classes; and, in 1808, five out of the six first class men "in literis humanioribus" came from Christ Church, and Robert Peel, for whom, as has been seen, Jackson had a specially high regard, gained the then unique distinction of a double first class. He had worked hard, and had been guided by able tutors, Gaisford and Lloyd, two of those eminent men whose services seconded the Dean's efforts to make the most of the young men of ability who flocked to Christ Church as the best school of training for public life or for the learned professions.

The whole of the expenses connected with the building of Peckwater and Canterbury had been defrayed by the end of 1791, and in that year the chapter had

* John Marriott, the father of Newman's friend Charles Marriott, Fellow of Oriel College, was a man of brilliant ability, though he gained no high preferment. He was a friend of Sir Walter Scott, and contributed to the third edition of the *Border Minstrelsy*. The introduction to the second canto of *Marmion* is dedicated to him:

> Marriott, thy harp on Isis strung
> To many a Border theme has rung.

Some of his poems, especially that which compares marriage to a Devonshire lane, are still well known; and he was the author of one popular hymn, "Thou, Whose almighty Word."

already taken into consideration the dilapidated state of the chaplains' buildings and other portions of the south side of the college adjoining the meadow. It was clear that at no long distance of time a large sum would be needed for their reparation, or for new buildings to take their place. A fund was therefore wisely created, beginning with a legacy of £100 from Dr. Cust, for this purpose; and it was resolved that the customary payments (£200 from the Dean and £100 from each canon) made by new members of the chapter at their admission, should be continued and applied to this object. One moiety of this sum had been levied in place of a treat formerly given to the college at the time of installation, such as has been described in the case of Atterbury and Smalridge in 1711; the other moiety had been a voluntary contribution to the college building fund. The fund thus begun was allowed to accumulate till Dean Liddell's time, when, in 1863–65, the Meadow Buildings were erected. No large sum was spent on the fabric of the college in that long interval, though there are frequent references to current repairs. The only serious matter connected with the buildings was in Cyril Jackson's last year of office, when a disastrous fire broke out in the Great Quadrangle between the south-west corner and the Hall. It began about midnight on Friday, March 3, 1809, and burnt for six hours. The lodgings of Dr. White, the professor of Hebrew, were entirely gutted, and the adjoining staircases as far as the Hall were severely damaged. Fortunately, the Hall itself was spared. The ancient sets of chambers had no party walls, except in Dr. White's residence, and even these did not run up to the roof. Tradition said that his lodgings were the first completed residential portion of Wolsey's

work, and had been occupied by the Cardinal himself on his visits of inspection. The spacious room on the first floor, with large bay window facing west, went by the name of his audit room. The fire led to a reconstruction of this portion of the Quadrangle, and the existing stone staircases, with iron balusters, took the place of the original oaken stairs which can still be seen on the west side. Former members of the House contributed liberally to the expense of reparation, the Archbishop of York (Harcourt) sending a donation of £300. The fire, as some old Christ Church men can still remember, had its "vates sacer" in Dr. Bull, who delighted to tell the full tale over his hospitable board.

Royal visits, which had ceased entirely since the Stuart times, began again under the rule of a Dean so favourably known at Court. In 1785 and in the following year George III. visited Oxford from Nuneham, dispensing on these occasions with the customary solemnities of royalty. On the latter occasion the King and Queen were entertained at a banquet in Christ Church Hall, and Madame D'Arblay has recorded how the grave dons took compassion on the maids of honour and equerries in attendance, providing them with tea, coffee, chocolate, cakes, and bread and butter, while some took it in turns to stand between them and the royal party so as to screen them from the observation of those who were banqueting at the high table. In June 1799 the Duke of York visited Christ Church, and the treasurer was ordered to "pay the servants of the House the sum of ten guineas as a gratuity from the chapter on the occasion of his Royal Highness having condescended to place his name on the books of the college." A century later, in the same month, and almost on the

same day, another Duke of York honoured the deanery with his presence. The visit in 1799 was made for the purpose of reviewing the University and City Volunteers, who were paraded on Port Meadow separately, on successive days. Dr. Barnes, then a young tutor in Holy Orders, was major of the University Corps.

The Westminster Students have occupied so prominent a place in the annals of Christ Church that it may be permitted to mention a rather grave scrape into which some of them fell from their obstinate adherence to ancient custom. It will be remembered that in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. the interposition of the visitor had been deemed necessary, to check the "intolerable excess" in the hospitality accorded to the newly elected Students by their comrades already in Oxford. But the same welcome had doubtless been annually given, in spite of the voice of authority. At length, in 1788, an attempt was made by the officers of discipline to deal with the matter. The etiquette at that time was that the Students who had come into residence in the previous year should ride out along the London road as far as Nuneham, and escort the newly elected Students as they arrived in their postchaise, on the last stage of their journey into Oxford, a hospitable meal being prepared for them upon their arrival. Such an affair seems harmless enough, but probably it had led to some excesses; at any rate the Dean and censors determined to interpose; and on Wednesday, May 21, when the new Students were expected, five Westminsters who were intent on their ride to Nuneham were ordered to attend the junior censor. They naturally disobeyed, and went off to greet their school friends. For this offence they were brought up before the Dean and

chapter, and reprimanded for their "improper and undutiful behaviour." Severe punishments followed, and notice of the censure was ordered to be put up in the Hall,

"not that the Dean and chapter suppose it in any degree necessary for them to announce their general determination of enforcing in all cases the respect which is due to the authority of the censors, but because after so gross an instance of disobedience in this particular point they think it fitting to declare in the most public and peremptory manner that the practice above-mentioned of going to meet the new election must absolutely be abolished, and that any attempt to revive it in any future year will be punished with severity as a direct infringement of the order of the chapter."

This stern and somewhat pompous announcement was a "brutum fulmen." The customary ride to Nuneham took place till railways came; and in the present day, though under altered circumstances, a hearty and hospitable welcome is accorded to the new Students, or rather Scholars, as they are now called.

In 1809 Cyril Jackson resigned the deanery. He was only 63 years old; and it seems strange that at an age when life is still for most men full of activity, and when experience has reached its maturity, he should have sought release from a high office which involved no exceptionally onerous duties, and in which he had earned a unique distinction. But he thought it right to do so; and he retired to Felpham, near Bognor, where he lived till his death on August 31, 1819. Those who visited him in his new home describe the dignity and calm of his old age, and the courteous greeting accorded to his old friends.

"I once had the great pleasure of finding him there," writes G. V. Cox, "having walked over from Littlehampton for the chance of seeing him. He was sitting very much as he is represented by his statue, but of course without the paraphernalia of his doctor's gown and large wig. He was simply dressed as a fine, venerable old man, without anything decidedly clerical in his appearance; his large Oxford wig was replaced by a very simple, one-curled, brown wig, which was surmounted by a large, broad-brimmed, black straw hat. He conversed with me for some time, showing a lively interest in the state of things at Oxford; I shall not soon forget the impression made by that interview. As he thus sat on a chair, placed for him near the edge of the low cliff and facing the sea, with his hands (one of them holding a golden snuff-box) clasped upon the top of his walking-stick, he looked greater and grander than I ever thought him in his greatest and grandest days, when walking stately in 'Tom Quadrangle.'"

He still, in his retirement, exercised considerable authority with public men; statesmen sought his advice in regard to the administration of patronage, and he continued to take a lively interest in the well-being of his former colleagues and pupils. When his old friend Abbot retired from the Speakership and became a peer, he wrote an affectionate letter of congratulation on his release from a burdensome office.

"Your meditations," he adds, "had gone on, I fancy, much in the same train with mine by the seaside. My propositions indeed were very few and simple: happiness, I said to myself, has but three ingredients in it: (1) the consciousness of having done one's duty; (2) health; (3) ὄλβος, as Homer calls it. No. 1 you were sure of carry-

ing with you, and that you were sure of having whenever you resigned; and if you resigned now you had a fair chance before you, under God's good providence, of having No. 2 also. *Ergo,* &c. &c. &c. But in spite of all this I was not without my fears that zeal for the public good, and inveterate habits of activity and business might have made you, if not overlook, yet put by the demonstration. However it is now all right."*

Cyril Jackson left his high office amid universal regret. Many tokens of affection were given him, among them a silver copy of the Warwick vase, presented by distinguished Irishmen who had been under him at Oxford. This vase was given to Christ Church in 1897 by his grand-niece, Mrs. Ellen Chapman, and is placed upon the high table on great occasions. His portrait by Owen hangs in the Hall. Another and smaller portrait is in the deanery dining room. It belonged to Bishop Carey, and according to his instructions was presented to the Dean and chapter at his death in 1846; "an admirable likeness, and painted by Owen," he writes. This picture is not the property of the Dean, but was allowed to find a home in his lodgings with the understanding "that in the event of the larger portrait in the Hall being injured, it is competent to the Dean and chapter to replace it at any time with that now consigned to the deanery."

In 1820 Mr. (afterwards Sir) Francis Chantrey undertook to execute the famous statue of Cyril Jackson which now stands in the vestibule of the college library, but was till 1870 in the north transept of the Cathedral. Chantrey received a fee of 2000 guineas for this admirable work. He had never seen Jackson, but was

* *Diary and Correspondence of Lord Colchester,* vol. iii. p. 3.

guided by Owen's portrait and the personal communications of those who had known the Dean. The list of subscribers to the statue comprises a large number of the most eminent men of the day.

It may surprise the reader that in the sketch of the history of Christ Church during the eighteenth century scarcely any mention has been made of the Cathedral Church. But, as a matter of fact, very few references to the Cathedral occur in the chapter books during the whole of this long period. No money was spent upon it, except for necessary repairs; scarcely any changes are recorded in its services or even its furniture. The Brian Duppa fittings remained untouched, as indeed they remained till 1856. The Church seems to have been regarded almost wholly as the college chapel, though liable to an occasional intrusion of the bishop for the purpose of holding an ordination. The chief entries in the chapter books relate to the fitting up of "the bishop's seat in the choir in a handsome manner" during the episcopate of Secker, and to the introduction of wax tapers into the choir in 1763, in place, it may be conjectured, of tallow candles. In Dean Bagot's days an order occurs which illustrates the subordinate position held by the Masters of Arts:

"that the treasurer do provide new *velvet* furniture for the communion table, litany desk, and canons' and noblemen's seats; and *cloth* furniture for the senior and junior masters' seats, in the chapel."

In Cyril Jackson's time, a marble font with a silver bason gilt was ordered, but to provide for the cost of such extravagance "two or three of the old silver

tankards were to be melted." Indeed this font was never executed; no font existed till 1882, when the present one was given by members of Dr. Heurtley's family. In 1806 the organ loft was fitted up "so as that the singing boys and singing men may be removed thither for the future." And when Bishop J. Butler in 1783 ventured to prefer the not unreasonable request that he might use the chapter house at the time of his ordination, for the purpose of giving his charge to the candidates, the Dean was ordered to reply in the following chilling terms:

"My Lord,

"I have taken the very first opportunity of laying before the chapter the request which your Lordship commissioned me to make in your name. We beg your Lordship to believe that we shall be always disposed to show every mark of attention and respect to you. But in the present case there are some considerations which render it impossible to comply with your Lordship's wishes."

Not until Dean Liddell's time did the bishop receive more than his strict legal rights from the unsympathetic chapter, who seem to have considered themselves as under no obligations to the diocese of Oxford and its spiritual ruler.

from a photograph by the [*Oxford Camera Club*

DOORWAY OF CHAPTER HOUSE

CHAPTER IX

CHRIST CHURCH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Deans: Charles Henry Hall, 1809–24; Samuel Smith, 1824–31; Thomas Gaisford, 1831–55; Henry George Liddell, 1855–91; Francis Paget, 1892– .

THE splendid success achieved by Cyril Jackson was scarcely maintained by his immediate successors. Deans Hall and Smith were not great rulers, and made no deep impression on the College, though its numbers seem to have been kept up.

Charles Henry Hall (1809–24) had been elected head from Westminster to a Studentship in 1779. He was a good classical scholar and fair theologian, as is shown by his Bampton Lectures, delivered in 1798. He served the offices of tutor and censor, and was promoted to a canonry in 1799. He occupied at first the second stall, but was transferred to the fifth stall on becoming Regius Professor of Divinity in succession to Bishop Randolph in 1807. Two years afterwards he was appointed Dean, and in 1824 passed on—one can scarcely say was preferred—to the deanery of Durham. In 1827 he died in Edinburgh, whither he had gone for medical advice.

It is at the beginning of his reign as Dean that there is mention in the chapter books of the formal recognition by the authorities of those undergraduate members of the House who had gained exceptional distinction in the newly established public examinations of the university, which Cyril Jackson had taken so much trouble in creating. A formal resolution was passed in 1810 to the effect that those young men who had done well in the class lists should be rewarded by being advanced to the degree of B.A. within the House, or by receiving presents of books stamped with the college arms. Two whose names are still familiar to old Christ Church men were among those selected for this distinction: John Bull, tutor, censor, and for many years canon, and Thomas Vowler Short, who, after loyal service as tutor and censor, became Bishop, first of Sodor and Man, and afterwards of St. Asaph—a prelate of exceptional integrity and benevolence.

It was natural that these public examinations should in due course take the place of the College exercises which had been required for a degree, and in 1816 a chapter order definitely recognises the new system and abolishes the old:

"Due consideration being had of the various orders of chapter by which the exercises of graduate Students and other members of this house were regulated, as well as of the recent statutes of the university by which the ancient forms of logical disputations are entirely superseded, it is ordered that for the future all the customary exercises, with the exception only of the bachelors' declamations, be discontinued, and that no mulct or fine be imposed, as has hitherto been the case, upon those persons who neglect to perform them."

Dean Hall's time is associated with stirring academical events. At the Encænia in 1810 Christ Church welcomed the new chancellor, Lord Grenville, by a banquet on the occasion of his installation; and in June 1814, after the conclusion of the Peace of Paris, the Prince Regent visited Oxford in company with the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia. The Prince Regent was lodged at the deanery, the Emperor of Russia at Merton College, and the King of Prussia at Corpus. After being sumptuously entertained in the Radcliffe Library, and receiving honorary degrees in the Theatre, the two foreign sovereigns left Oxford for Blenheim; thence the Emperor went on to Stowe, and the King of Prussia returned to London. The Prince Regent remained in Oxford, and met a large company at dinner on the evening of June 15, in the Hall of Christ Church. The Duke of York, the Chancellor, Prince Metternich, and Marshal Blücher, newly created Prince Blücher by the King of Prussia, were among the guests. At the end of dinner the Prince Regent ordered the buttery book to be brought, and by his command the Dean inserted his name in the list of members of the college, "Regia celsitudo Georgii Principis Walliæ Regentis," Georg*ii* and the other genitives having been, by an afterthought, substituted for the nominative Georg*ius*, as first written. It is barbarous Latinity, whichever reading is right. Then the Dean announced

"the high honour thus conferred upon them, and Prince Blücher took the opportunity of addressing his Royal Highness in the German language, expressing in the strongest terms his admiration of the university and its

institutions, as well as the general character and conduct of the British nation."

It must have been a curious scene.*

Blücher was lodged in Christ Church, occupying a room on the first floor of Dr. Barnes's residence at the south-west corner of Peckwater. The room now forms part of the censor's quarters, and has two windows facing south. It has always been since known as "Blücher's room," and the four-poster bed on which he lay remained there till Dr. Barnes's death in 1859. It is a tradition in the family that Blücher slept in his boots, with a bottle of brandy under his pillow. He was the hero of the hour, and crowds used to assemble under his windows and cheer him as he occasionally showed himself, pipe in mouth. Bishop Vowler Short, who was then a young B.A. Student, was wont to relate how Blücher was put under his charge when he went abroad in Oxford, and the difficulty experienced in regulating his behaviour in the streets.

A year later the Dean and chapter voted 100 guineas "in aid of the fund for the relief of the sufferers in the Battle of Waterloo."

The large number and influential position in society of the members of Christ Church enabled the college to exercise a preponderating influence in academical contests, such as the election to professorial chairs, or of Burgesses in Parliament. But in order to make this influence effective, it was customary that when a vacancy occurred steps should be taken to ascertain whether a

* Ingram (*Memorials*, i. p. 53) adds that Blücher's speech "was immediately and eloquently translated into English by the Prince Regent, omitting only (with that exquisite taste which distinguished him) those parts which were complimentary to himself."

suitable candidate was forthcoming whom all resident members would agree to support, and to recommend for the support of non-resident members. Such a candidate, backed by so strong a body, would have every prospect of success, and contests were often prevented by the announcement of the Christ Church nomination. An illustration of this method of action may be found in Dean Hall's time.* In 1817 Speaker Abbot resigned his seat as Burgess on his promotion to the Upper House as Lord Colchester, and the question arose as to who should be his successor. The news of the vacancy was communicated to the Dean with the least possible delay. He at once summoned the college officers to discuss the situation, to the "consternation" of Dr. Barnes, the Sub-dean, who had the vice-chancellor and some heads of houses dining with him on that, a Friday, evening. The college officers were the Sub-dean, the two Censors (Corne and Goodenough), the Greek reader (Gaisford) and the Rhetoric reader (Lloyd). Gaisford happened to be absent. This small body debated the matter. The Dean, whose voice ought to have carried great weight, proposed Canning, and he was supported by the Sub-dean and Goodenough. But Canning was known to be in favour of the Roman Catholic claims. Corne, the senior censor (a man universally respected), spoke strongly against the wisdom of such a nomination. He even declared that if it were persisted in he would be obliged to resign his office. This division of opinion forced the Dean to withdraw Canning's name. Then came the question whether any one should be proposed. This was settled in the affirmative, and the Sub-dean suggested Vansittart, but he was soon set aside for Peel.

* *Diary and Correspondence of Lor Colchester*, iii. 4 3.

Peel was accepted unanimously. The Dean wrote to acquaint him with the fact, and Lloyd, his former tutor and close personal friend, set off for London at once, travelled through the night, and early next morning brought the good news to his old pupil.

The next step was for the Dean to convene the chapter and announce to them the resolution arrived at; and for the censor to summon the resident Students for the same purpose. Then came a regular canvass of all Christ Church voters, and overtures with the authorities of all the other colleges, to ensure, if possible, their co-operation. The result was that Peel was elected without a contest. Of course such a procedure on the part of Christ Church involved some risk and might provoke antagonism; and the harmonious and unanimous co-operation of the whole of a large society would be impossible in the present day. The last two instances of a college candidature were in 1857, when there were contests for the poetry professorship and the clinical professorship. Bode and Acland were the Christ Church candidates; the first failed, the latter was successful. An amusing controversy arose in connexion with these last contests, as to who should pay the expenses which Christ Church had incurred; a "dictum" of Vowler Short's, enshrined in the censor's book, and based, it was said, on Dr. Barnes's authority, was in favour of the chapter discharging the liability; but the chapter, under the leadership of Dr. Bull, stoutly resisted such a demand, and threw the burden on to the common room.

A picture of the state of the college under Dean Hall is given by F. Oakeley,* whose reminiscences of under-

* Quiller Couch's *Reminiscences of Oxford*, pp. 303, *seq.*

graduate days, written down after a long interval, must be accepted with some reserve. He describes the Dean as a very handsome and gentlemanlike old man, a great imitator of the manners and ways of Cyril Jackson, irregular in chapel, and so unpunctual that belated undergraduates waited in the nave till his arrival and then got safely to their seats in the choir, following in his wake through the door opened for him. He declares that the whole tone of the college was low, the men addicted to vice and loose conversation ; and, as to the chapel,

"the services were so managed that it would have been hardly possible for any one to make a good use of them, even had he wished it; and I do not think that such a wish was largely shared. Little or no care was taken to secure even the decent behaviour of those who attended chapel as a general rule; and it was only when that behaviour broke out, as was sometimes the case in the evening, into the most disgraceful irreverence, that the authorities interposed to control it."

Samuel Smith (1824–31) succeeded Dean Hall on his acceptance of the deanery of Durham. He was the son of a former Headmaster of Westminster (the predecessor of the famous Vincent), and, like Dean Hall, had been tutor, censor, and canon of Christ Church. When he became Dean he was sixty years of age, and had enjoyed his canonry for seventeen years. His chief claim for promotion must have been founded on his long services to the House, and his familiarity with all its usages. He was perhaps rather weary of Oxford, and glad to effect an exchange of the deanery with Gaisford, in 1831, for the more restful dignity of the golden stall

at Durham. But Christ Church seems to have attracted good men under his rule, for on the roll of Students elected at Christmas 1829 the first two names are William Ewart Gladstone and Charles John Canning, and a year later the list of new Students is headed by Henry Liddell (curiously enough his second name, George, is omitted) and is closed by Robert Scott. These were all cases of election by real merit; but, no doubt, a large number of the Students nominated owed their good fortune to less unequivocal claims. Dean Hall was said by Oakeley to have been very corrupt in his appointments; and a good comment on the system is to be found in the censor's book in 1829. A description is there given of the epistles, or formal Latin letters, which it was customary for a Student designate to present to the Dean and canons on asking to be admitted to his Studentship after nomination.

"The epistle sets forth according to the particular circumstances the claims of the candidate to the notice of the chapter; that he is son, nephew, or related to the Dean or some canon, or has some *equally good reason* for hoping for their favour."

Oakeley thinks that the tone of the college improved under Dean Smith, owing to the influence of some evangelical undergraduates. Probably the influence of Vowler Short, as censor, was very excellent. In 1829 the large lecture-room at the top of the Hall staircase was built,* and in the same year an entrance examination for commoners was instituted.

"The Dean," we read in the censor's book, "desired the

* From 1775 to this time the college lecture-room—there was only one—had been in the basement of the old Library.

two censors and Mr. A. Short, his 'tutor designatus,' to examine Mr. —— before he was entered as a commoner. The examination consisted in a short trial in classics, in which he was well prepared; in arithmetic and mathematics, in which he knew less than he ought to have known; and in divinity, which he had attended to. The object of the first of these was to discover whether he was likely to do us credit, and himself to benefit by the instructions of the place; of the second and third, that some effect may gradually be produced on the public schools, where these subjects are apt to be grossly neglected."

A subsequent entry adds that Dean Gaisford dropped the examination in divinity, and confined it simply to the construing of a few lines of Homer and Virgil, and the rendering a piece of English into Latin.

Although *Thomas Gaisford* (1831–55) gained the deanery by exchange — a solitary instance of such a method of appointment, and said to have been due to the interest of Bishop Van Mildert, whose niece was Gaisford's wife—yet no better selection could have been made. Thirty-one years previously he had attracted the notice of Dean Cyril Jackson, while a commoner of Christ Church, and a chapter minute of December 12, 1800, orders

"that the name of Thomas Gaisford be entered on the next roll of candidates for Studentships immediately after the Sub-dean's nomination, in consideration of his great diligence and proficiency in learning, and of the uniform regularity of his behaviour, strongly testified to the chapter by the officers of the college."

The propriety of their choice was amply proved. At the age of twenty-eight he published an edition of

Hephæstion, which gave him an acknowledged rank among scholars, and secured for him, on the recommendation of Cyril Jackson, who was then living in retirement at Felpham, the Regius Professorship of Greek. This important office he retained till his death, and, though he never delivered lectures, he was confessedly one of the most learned and laborious of all occupants of the Chair. His edition of *Suidas* is a monumental work; and his own MS. of the text of *Photii Lexicon e Codice Gallieno* (two volumes), which was never published, written throughout with faultless penmanship, is a marvellous specimen of scholarly industry. It is now in the Wake archives of our Library.

But Dean Gaisford was far more than a profound scholar. His government of Christ Church, though cast in an archaic mould, was the rule of a strong man, who knew his own mind. He aimed at keeping the college true to its ancient customs and traditions, and was careful to oppose, or at least ignore, all reforms which introduced novelties inconsistent, as he deemed them, with the spirit of the foundation. There was a distinction, for instance, which had always been strictly observed, between the richer and poorer members of the society. This was an article of faith with him. The servitor, however learned and meritorious, must never be raised to the rank of Student. The two orders must never be confused. This unfortunate principle had lost to Christ Church, not many years before, John Davison, the distinguished writer on prophecy, who gained a Fellowship at Oriel, and John Matthias Turner, afterwards Bishop of Calcutta. It was destined, during Gaisford's reign, to drive away to other colleges a poet and a historian—

the latter, indeed, to return after many years, decorated with many honours, as bishop of the diocese, and to become an Honorary Student of his House.

The public examinations, moreover, established by the university just after Gaisford had taken his degree, never greatly interested him, though he acted as examiner from 1809 till 1811. He cared little for distinctions gained outside the walls of Christ Church, and did not encourage the competition for them. One result of this old-fashioned attitude was that the position of Christ Church men in the class lists, which up to this time had been singularly high, quickly changed after he became Dean. In the five years, 1831–5, twenty-eight first classes were gained by members of the House; ten years later, 1841–5, the total number had dwindled to six. This was a great change for the worse; and though, in 1853, the system of examination was modified, and the two schools were turned into four, the results were unhappily much the same. And this decline in the honours gained in public examinations made itself felt in the quality of the tutorial staff of the College, whose members were always recruited from the Students; and the Students, as has been mentioned, were (if the Westminsters be excepted) appointed by nomination, and too often by nomination based on private grounds, irrespective of intellectual merit. Gaisford, indeed, and some members of the chapter, took great pains to exercise their patronage conscientiously, and to discover the most promising and industrious among the commoners, for promotion to the rank of Student; but their example was not universally followed. Dean Gaisford was himself an absolutely upright and independent ruler. He cared nothing for rank, though always care-

ful to maintain the distinctions of rank among the undergraduates. He was blunt and outspoken, somewhat lacking in suavity of manner, but at heart kindly and generous, and always eager to promote industry and research. He greatly encouraged the two young Students who were devoting themselves to the laborious task of compiling the Greek lexicon which bears their names; and "Liddell and Scott" owes much to his wise suggestions and experienced guidance.

In a satire entitled *Black Gowns and Red Coats*, published in 1834, when the Duke of Wellington became Chancellor, and written by George Cox, son of the well-known Esquire Bedel, occur the often quoted and often misquoted lines about Gaisford and Sneyd, the courtly warden of All Souls. The writer describes the opposition of Oxford to the torrent of reform:

"These zeal and talent to the stream oppose,
The pride of indolent importance those,
In diff'rent ways the diff'rent forces pull,
And Buckland's genius has for ballast Bull.
Oh! vain defenders, if with gripe so strong
You still would cling to all you grasp'd so long;
If 'tis indeed so sweet your own to call
The rich endowment and the golden stall,
Bend your proud shoulders, let your choler cool,
Untutor'd tutors, go once more to school!
Methinks 'twere well such trial to conduct
Where dons were catechised, and pluckers pluck'd;
The modern Athens sophist tribe to see
Once more examined for a new degree,
Gaisford and Sneyd each other's lectures seek,
And one learn manners, and the other Greek."

To all external interference with the University and

its colleges Dean Gaisford offered a stubborn resistance; and he was probably happy in not living long enough to witness the drastic changes which were soon to be introduced into the constitution of Christ Church. To the inquiries of the first university commissioners he alone of all the heads of colleges would vouchsafe no reply of any kind. He acknowledged none of their communications. And when Liddell, to whom he was much attached, wrote to inform him of his acceptance of the office of commissioner, the reply showed his utter repugnance to the whole inquiry.

"As to the commission itself," he wrote, "I feel, in common with almost every one both at Oxford and Cambridge, that it is a measure which can be productive of no good, and may eventually breed discord and disunion, and destroy the independence of those bodies."

It was, however, clear that if Christ Church was to protect itself in any degree from the impending storm, some changes must be made by the chapter in deference to modern demands, some measure of reform must be introduced without external compulsion. Accordingly, in 1854, when a Bill based upon the recommendations of the commissioners was on the point of being introduced into Parliament, the chapter resolved to abolish the ancient system of private nomination, and to throw the Studentships open to a restricted competition. On February 22 in that year it was resolved

"that upon the determination of the present roll of students no new roll shall be made, but that hereafter all commoners of this house, having resided one year at the least therein, and being of irreproachable moral conduct, as well as of competent learning (to be ascertained by the

means of a good examination) shall be allowed to present themselves as candidates for studentships.

"The dean and canons, in waiving the rights of nomination which they have enjoyed from time immemorial, do not thereby admit that meritorious young men have failed to obtain, as opportunities offered, a place in the order of students, but they are of opinion that the time has arrived for affording additional inducements to exertion amongst the younger members of this society; and they hope that the step which they have now taken will prove not only beneficial to individuals, but conducive to the welfare of the foundation generally."

This was a very remarkable decision to be adopted by so conservative a body; and it was followed by an election held in December of the same year, when the present Sir James Ramsay of Banff, who had in that month gained a first class in Classics, was appointed to a Studentship, "ex communi consensu," apparently without further examination; and two other commoners, Rocke and Cleaver, were elected after examination.

On the same day on which this resolution was passed the Dean and chapter sent an interesting communication to Lord Palmerston, who, as Home Secretary in Lord Aberdeen's ministry, had asked their opinion on certain points of reform suggested by the commissioners. The document is ably written, and was probably due in a large measure to Dr. Bull. It will be found among the parliamentary papers of 1854.

The Dean and chapter strongly deprecate the proposed non-collegiate system. If poor scholars are to be provided for, they point out the merit of the existing institution of servitors, who have now no menial duties to perform; they are prepared to increase the number

of this class of undergraduates as soon as room can be found; and the contemplated rebuilding of an ancient part of the college, for which funds have been long accumulating, will afford enlarged accommodation. As to Studentships, they point out that there are no disqualifications with respect to birth, parentage, or circumstances, to prevent the election of any candidate. The existing restrictions are, (1) Queen Elizabeth's statute relating to the Westminster Students, (2) the ancient custom of nomination. The first seems all that can be desired in the case of Westminsters, who are to be "docilis ingenii, bonæ indolis, doctrinæ, virtutis, et inopiæ." The system of nomination they hold to be better than the preference of "mere intellectual merit," and the requirement of previous residence in the college enables the Dean and chapter to gain some knowledge of the character of the young men before their appointment. They then mention that they have on this very day surrendered their ancient privilege of nominating by roll.

They add an interesting suggestion which was more or less acted upon many years later; namely, that if any contribution to academical purposes were required from the corporate funds, the Regius professorship of Greek should have the first claim; and they suggest that they should be empowered to set apart an estate of the value of between £300 and £400 a year (of which the lease was then running out), and that upon the next avoidance of the Greek chair the same estate should be made over to the incoming professor and his successors.*

* In 1865, after a long and tiresome controversy, the stipend of the Regius professor of Greek was raised by Christ Church from £40 to £500 a year; and under the statutes of 1882 a Studentship was assigned to the chair.

The new ordinance relating to Christ Church did not come into operation till 1858, three years after Gaisford's death; but in anticipation of the evils in prospect the Dean and chapter presented a petition to the House of Commons against the Bill of 1854, in which they

"beg leave to express in the strongest terms their deliberate judgment that serious evils must result from the attempt now proposed to alter a system of discipline and government which has been shown by the experience of centuries to secure the peace and promote the true welfare of the whole society."

It was a pathetic protest against the inevitable intrusion of modern innovations, and the loss of ancient independence, against the interference by Parliament with a system of government which had remained absolutely the same, in all essential features, for more than 300 years; for indeed on November 4, 1846, the College had celebrated the tercentenary of its foundation with a special service in the Cathedral, an English oration by a Student, and a grand banquet in the Hall.

But its history had certainly been uneventful, since the days of Cyril Jackson. Even on the buildings scarcely any money was spent during the whole of Gaisford's long reign. The chief work was the restoration of the steps and parapet wall of the terrace in the Great Quadrangle in 1842, under the guidance of Sir Francis Chantrey, at a cost of £2000. The handsome flights of steps, and border wall of grey Cornish granite, which were then placed, were removed about thirty years later when the terrace was lowered and the Quadrangle brought into its present condition.

In 1842 a considerable benefaction was conferred

upon Christ Church by William Carey, Bishop of St. Asaph, formerly Headmaster of his old school of Westminster. He was a wealthy and a childless man, and cherished a deep affection for the places of his education. He gave £10,000, subsequently increased to £20,000,

"to found certain exhibitions (the same to commence after his own death and that of his wife) for the better education and advancement in sound learning and religious knowledge of such students of this House elected from Westminster school as have their own way to make in the world, under certain limitations and regulations to be contained in the deed of trust."

Mrs. Carey died in June 1861, and since that time the Westminster Students—or scholars, as they are now called—have enjoyed this large and agreeable benefaction, as distributed each year by the governing body. The deed of trust has been altered in some respects to adapt it to modern requirements.

Another benefaction was bestowed upon Christ Church in the same year, 1842, by Miss Grace Annabella Slade, who gave £1000 to found an exhibition as a memorial of her father and her two brothers, all sometime Westminster Students. Preference, in case of an equality of merit among the candidates, was to be given to a person educated at Westminster school. It is doubtful whether this condition has been observed by the electors.

Dean Gaisford died on June 2, 1855, after a short illness. There was little doubt as to who would be chosen to succeed him by the Liberal Government of

the day, and on June 4 the appointment was submitted to the Queen by Lord Palmerston.

Henry George Liddell (1855–91), was obviously the fittest person for the post, though the conservatism of Christ Church would have preferred a chief who was not so prominently identified with university reform. Liddell had been educated at Charterhouse, and had begun residence as a commoner at Christ Church at Easter 1830. In December of the same year he had been selected for a Studentship by Dean Smith, to whom Dr. Dowdeswell, one of the canons who was seldom, if ever, in residence, had entrusted his turn of nomination. He gained a double first class in 1833; became in due course tutor and censor; and in 1846 was nominated by Dean Gaisford to the Headmastership of Westminster school, which was then at a very low ebb of prosperity. After nine years of laborious and successful work there he returned to Christ Church as Dean, and was installed on June 30, 1855. In conjunction with his contemporary and brother Student, Robert Scott, he had in 1843 published the famous Greek lexicon which bears their joint names. Scott passed from his Studentship to a Fellowship at Balliol, and became Master of the college and afterwards Dean of Rochester.

Liddell's long reign covers what may without exaggeration be termed the most eventful period in the history of Christ Church. He witnessed and largely directed the peaceful revolution by which the ancient autocracy of the Dean and chapter was abolished, and a predominating share in the government of the House was assigned to the Students. But it was only by degrees that the great change was accomplished.

Liddell came into office just at the time when the

reforms which he—as a member of the first Oxford university commission—had been largely instrumental in recommending, were beginning to take effect. He was, therefore, not undertaking his work under happy conditions, since neither the Canons nor the Students welcomed the modern spirit of reform, of which their new chief was a conspicuous representative. The executive commission which succeeded the original commission of inquiry had the task of drawing up ordinances for the different colleges; but these ordinances were not at once imposed upon them; room was allowed for discussion, suggestions, and remonstrances. The Christ Church ordinance was warmly debated in chapter, and many representations were made to the commissioners, Dr. Pusey taking a prominent part, as he was well qualified to do, in attempts to modify its enactments. At last, on June 16, 1858, the Dean laid it upon the table in the chapter house in its final state, as it had been sealed by the commissioners in the previous January, and approved by the Queen on June 5. It was ordered to be preserved among the muniments of the college. One protest against it was formally recorded. This was raised, not by Dr. Pusey (though he regarded the new ordinance as a death-blow to "old" Christ Church), but by Dr. Ogilvie, the first Regius professor of pastoral theology, who had been in former days chaplain to Archbishop Howley, and a champion in Oxford of those enlightened changes which had led to the greatness of his own distinguished college of Balliol. But that had been in his early days. He was now more than contented with things as they were; innovations of every kind pained him; and he protested against the ordinance:—

"1. Because I consider it wrong in principle, as involving arbitrary changes, and such disregard for the wills and intentions of founders and benefactors as no alleged necessity has justified. 2. Because in its details it seems to me less suitable to the character, and less conducive to the ends, of a place of religious learning and education than the previously existing constitution of the College."

This new ordinance undoubtedly introduced very serious changes, even if Dr. Ogilvie's estimate of them was unduly gloomy. It did not, indeed, deprive the Dean and chapter of their ancient "status" as sole owners and administrators of the corporate property, but two canonries were suppressed, leaving five stalls annexed to professorships and one to the Archdeaconry of Oxford; the nomination of Students by the chapter was abolished, and the sacred number of 101 Students, announced each evening to Oxford and its neighbourhood as "Tom" went down, was mercilessly altered. Even the title of Student was disfigured by an ugly prefix. For the future there were to be twenty-eight *senior* Studentships, answering in some respects to Fellowships, and of these no fewer than nineteen were tenable only on condition of the holder taking Holy Orders; there were to be fifty-two *junior* Studentships, answering to scholarships, twenty-one of which were connected with Westminster School, and tenable for seven years; the rest were tenable for five years. Both senior and junior Students (except, of course, the Westminsters) were elected by open competition; and the election was entrusted to a board consisting of the Dean, six canons, and the six senior members of the educational staff—an arrangement which gave the Students equal power with

the Canons in this very important matter, though the college officers were still formally nominated each year by the chapter, in accordance with immemorial custom.

It is clear that the ordinance of 1858, while conferring an important right on the Students, or at least on a part of their body, in the matter of election to Studentships, nevertheless laboured under two grave defects. 1. The number of clerical Students was over large—two-thirds of the whole number. 2. The senior Students, although intended to rank as Fellows, were not owners of the property of the college, and exercised no control over it, being simply stipendiary. It was not to be expected that such an arrangement should be final, or that the senior Students, elected by competition from the whole university, should for long acquiesce in a position markedly inferior to that which their friends and contemporaries occupied in other colleges, where the Fellows formed, with the Head, the governing body. Accordingly, a movement soon began to effect a complete alteration in the "status" of the senior Students, and to win for them their proper share in the ownership and administration of the corporate property. Private meetings were held, and a plan of operations devised; and in 1865 the first negotiations took place between the Chapter and the Students.

A chapter minute of February 14, 1865, records that,

"A statement having been made to the effect that considerable dissatisfaction exists among the resident students as to the present relative position of the canons and students, it was resolved that a committee be appointed to confer with the students on this matter; that the committee consist of the dean, the sub-dean, the treasurer, and Dr. Pusey, and that instructions be given them to ascertain

what the grievances are of which the students complain, and what remedies thereof they desire to suggest to the chapter."

Ten days later there is added:

"That with reference to the chapter order of February 14, as to the committee named to confer with the students, a meeting be called for Saturday, February 25, at two o'clock; the delegates on the part of the students being Mr. Prout, Mr. Sandford, and Mr Harcourt."

Thus the struggle began. Within a year it was agreed that a body of referees should be appointed to consider all matters at issue, and frame an award for common acceptance. Five persons were nominated for this purpose—Archbishop Longley and Sir John Taylor Coleridge by the Canons, Sir William Page Wood and the Hon. Edward Twisleton by the Students, and Sir Roundell Palmer by the Dean. Evidence was taken, and all the questions at issue were fully considered by these distinguished men. Their unanimous recommendations were embodied in the "Christ Church, Oxford, Act, 1867," and in the Michaelmas term of that year the new governing body met—in the common room, not in the chapter house — for the first time. A great change had been made. The government of the foundation and the disposal and management of its possessions and revenues were now vested in the Dean, Canons, and senior Students. But the rights of the chapter as a cathedral body were carefully safeguarded. An ample sum of money was to be paid over to them annually, to form a chapter fund. Of this fund they had the sole control; their own incomes, and the expenses connected with the services and ministers of

the cathedral church, were thus provided for, and, though the rights of the college to the use of the church as a college chapel were fully recognised, yet the chapter, as a chapter, enjoyed complete liberty in all other respects—a liberty of which they have since made excellent use.

The revolution, for it was nothing less, was now completed, and the power of self government acquired by the new governing body enabled it to make from time to time such changes in its constitution—with regard, for instance, to the number of clerical Studentships—as were demanded by the changed circumstances of the university. Things worked well on the whole, thanks in no small measure to the generosity and loyalty of the canons, most of whom took an active and helpful part in the government of the whole society. Then, in 1877, came a parliamentary commission, and, though the constitution of Christ Church was not altered so far as concerned the ownership and administration of the property, yet very considerable alterations were introduced in relation to the tenure and emoluments of the Studentships, and the college is now ruled by statutes which became law in 1882. The senior Students, again termed simply Students, were divided into two classes, official and non-official, with different conditions of election and tenure which need not be described; the junior Students became scholars, and some changes were made in the tenure of their scholarships.

Dean Liddell's epoch is associated with many changes in the buildings of Christ Church. In 1862–5 the long range of the Meadow buildings was erected from the design of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Thomas Deane of Dublin, taking the place of the ancient rooms facing

the old library on the south, in which the chaplains had their quarters, and the block which Dean John Fell had erected to the eastward of the passage leading from the cloister to the meadow. The Great Quadrangle, which had remained down to this time much in the same state in which it had been left on its completion in 1665, was now brought back to something like Wolsey's original design, though it necessarily lacked his intended cloister.

"The crumbling surface of the soft oolite stone of which the quadrangle was built, long disintegrated by rain and frost, was renewed with a harder stone from the Taynton quarries wherever necessary. The shafts designed to carry the vaulting of the cloister received, with perhaps an almost over-conscientious reproduction of Wolsey's unfinished project, the slightly curved stones to show the intended springing of the vaulting; the arches, which had been smoothed to the wall-face, were renewed round the quadrangle, and even introduced on the north side, where they had never existed before, and the terrace was lowered about fifteen inches to disclose the bases of the shafts. This change in the level of the terrace revealed the foundation of the external buttresses of the cloister. It was decided, but not without much hesitation, to leave them exposed. The balustrade, some parts of which had lately fallen in a storm, was removed, and battlements took its place. Beneath them was carved a line of shields, illustrative of the long history of the House. The Hall received its pinnacles, and its splendid proportions were disclosed by the removal of the masking wall which connected it at its eastern end with the corner tower. Over Kill-Canon a small tower, originally intended by Fell for astronomical purposes, but never carried up beyond the line of the balustrade, was now completed."*

* *Memoir of H. G. Liddell*, p. 162.

From a photograph by the [*Oxford Camera Club*

THE GREAT QUADRANGLE

AFTER ITS RESTORATION UNDER DEAN LIDDELL

But before this restoration of the quadrangle was taken in hand the condition of the interior of the cathedral had twice engaged the Dean's attention. The cathedral, indeed, had been scarcely touched since the reign of Charles I., when extensive alterations had been made, as already described, by Dean Duppa. During the half-century succeeding the restoration of the monarchy there had been enough to occupy the most energetic of Deans in finishing the domestic buildings of the college. Then came the torpor of the eighteenth century, extending, it must be confessed, far into the nineteenth; and the only mention of any structural alteration which occurs in the Chapter books during a period of about 150 years relates to the "back door of the church near the vestry," which was to be walled up and a new door made. It is uncertain what door this refers to; but doubtless wintry draughts had been brought into the unwarmed choir, for it was ordered at the same time (December 19, 1741) that "curtains be put round the stalls of Mr. Dean and Mr. Sub-dean, including the women's seats." There was, therefore, much to be done in re-arranging the interior to fit it for the demands of modern times, and for the proper accommodation of the numerous members of the House, who had been crowded in an unseemly manner within the narrow space of the choir, which was blocked up by the rows of benches on which they sat, some facing west and others east. Early in Liddell's time, in 1856, the first changes had been made, and a vast improvement effected, under the direction of a London architect, Mr. Billing. The oak panelling of the choir was cleared away so that the graceful vista of the aisles could be disclosed; the organ screen, which blocked the whole

entrance to the choir, was removed, and the organ was placed on the floor of the south transept, hard by the verger's house, which remained within the actual church till 1870. The stalls of the Dean and chapter were transferred to the nave, just where the censors now sit, and by this means the whole length of the church, as it then existed, was made use of for service. The singing men and boys occupied a position under the central tower. The bulk of the undergraduates were placed in the choir, the censors sitting with them; but the noblemen and gentlemen commoners, together with the graduates, sat westward of the transepts. The new arrangement was convenient and looked well, and the services could be conducted in a seemly manner. The whole of the reconstruction is stated to have been made without the introduction into the church of any new material, or the removal of any of the old woodwork.

This was, however, only a temporary expedient. Ten years later the Chapter were busily discussing with Mr. G. Gilbert Scott a scheme for a more complete and costly restoration; and when the new governing body came into existence one of its first acts was to offer the hearty co-operation of the Students in carrying out the work in a proper manner. The result of this movement was that more than £17,000 was spent upon the church in 1870–2, and the work then undertaken brought the building, in all essential points, into its present condition.

The interior of the fabric was thoroughly cleaned, the whitewash brushed off, and the original surface exposed. The quaint seventeenth-century screens, which shut off the chapels north of the choir from the north transept, were removed. Perpendicular tracery was placed in the windows where Duppa had inserted his plainer lights.

The whole of the east end was reconstructed to correspond with the Norman architecture of the church, in accordance with some indications of an original design which Mr. Scott discovered, and some gaudy French glass which had been lately placed in the then existing decorated tracery of the east window as a memorial of the tercentenary of the foundation, was distributed among the clerestory lights of the transepts, where it may still be seen. The south transept,

"one bay of which had long been desecrated by its use as a verger's house, was now brought wholly into the church; and a curious chamber, which extended over the slype, was carefully rebuilt in accordance with traces found *in situ*. A light screen of open ironwork, wrought by Skidmore of Coventry, was carried round the nave and choir, so as to mark off the central portion of the church for collegiate use without excluding the general congregation from full enjoyment of the service. At the west end of the nave an additional bay was built, replacing one of the three destroyed by Wolsey; it was intended that it should be called Dr. Dowdeswell's bay, the cost being defrayed by a sum of money bequeathed some years before by that member of the chapter. And when, before the restoration was completed, the canon's lodgings which separated the cathedral from the great quadrangle became vacant, an approach to the church was made from the terrace through a double archway. This was completed in 1872, and now forms the chief entrance. The central tower arcade was also opened to view; its Norman arches had been long hidden by the floor of the ringing chamber. But the bells were now moved altogether from the church, and a new belfry was constructed for them above the hall staircase."*

* *Memoir of H. G. Liddell*, p. 157.

The interior of the church was richly furnished, and its services were carefully rendered. It became then, as it has since continued to be, the central home for the diocese of Oxford.

More and more, indeed, throughout Dean Liddell's time, did this aspect of the church, as the cathedral church of Oxford, come into prominence. The bishop was no longer regarded as an intruder; and whenever possible the use of the church was willingly granted for diocesan purposes, such as ordinations, visitations, and choir festivals. But such use was necessarily restricted owing to the double purpose for which the building served; and during the academic Terms the claims of the college were obviously paramount. A difficulty arose as early as 1865, when Bishop Wilberforce desired to exercise his right of appointing honorary canons. There were no stalls for them; and no room for even a few of them when the college attended service. The question had to be gravely considered, and the Dean and chapter placed their case before the ecclesiastical commissioners. A chapter minute of July 7, 1865, records that

"the dean laid before the chapter the opinions obtained by the ecclesiastical commissioners regarding the bishop's appointment of honorary canons in their cathedral. These opinions from the law officers of the Crown show that these honorary canonries (1) cannot be appointed without the consent of the chapter: (2) that the ecclesiastical commissioners cannot either by *mandamus* or otherwise compel the chapter to give their consent."

Probably this would have ended the matter, had Gaisford been Dean or Wilberforce not been bishop;

but happily a wise compromise was arranged; and a year later, on July 23, 1866,

"the venerable Edward Bickersteth D.D. Archdeacon of Buckingham having been appointed a honorary canon of the cathedral was this day installed, the bishop's letter of appointment being first read."

From this time onwards the Bishop's nominees were installed, subject to the proviso

"that as this space within the cathedral is at certain periods in full term of the academical year of the university of Oxford required for the use of the then resident graduate and undergraduate members of Christ Church, the honorary canons shall not at such times be entitled to claim stalls."

Honorary canonries have been almost invariably, and most properly, awarded as a complimentary recognition of long service in the diocese; in one case only has the dignity been conferred on an actual Student of the House; but the Rev. Thomas Chamberlain, the vicar of St. Thomas's, a Westminster Student till his death, stood for many years in the very forefront of the Oxford parochial clergy for length of service and devoted labours, and well deserved this honour, which Bishop Mackarness conferred upon him.

In the long reign of Dean Liddell vast changes took place in the whole educational system, not of Christ Church only, but of Oxford. The fruit of the new ordinances was seen in the awakening of the colleges to new responsibilities, and in the development of multifarious activity. It may be worth while to describe, with the help of a somewhat treacherous memory, some

of the features of Christ Church life as it existed towards the end of 1858, when the new ordinance had just become law, but had not yet given birth to the changes which were soon to come. The writer matriculated with two others elected from Westminster, in May 1858. The new ordinance, owing to unexpected delays, did not receive the royal assent till June 5; so we three young men were elected under the old system; our Studentships were tenable not for a paltry term of seven years, but for life, if only we took priests' orders in due course, and refrained from marriage. One incentive, therefore, for making the best of ourselves was lacking. Our position was assured already, if ambition were modest; and a good college living might be made a certainty if we tired of Oxford.

In the Michaelmas Term we came into residence, the formal admission to the Studentships being deferred, according to immemorial custom, till Christmas Eve. There had thus been a gap of about five months between leaving school and joining the University; a most precious time if properly employed. But no guidance had been given, except one recommendation, to read the "De officiis"; no hint being added that any examination would test whether the advice had been taken. So there was every temptation to waste the long summer; the longest holiday of our lives. We were assigned as pupils to Mr. Osborne Gordon, the senior censor; one of the two censors always having the Westminsters under his care.

The college at this time numbered about 180 undergraduates. The educational staff consisted of seven persons, six classical tutors and one mathematical lecturer. First came the two censors (Mr. Gordon and

Mr. Prout); then the Greek reader (Mr. Sandford), and the Rhetoric reader (Mr. Joyce). The two other classical tutors were Mr. Bayne and Mr. Pickard; the mathematical lecturer, Mr. Dodgson. Among the six classical tutors the 180 undergraduates were divided as pupils. Each tutor was assumed to be responsible for the whole work of his pupils, and was supposed to be almost omniscient, except in the matter of divinity, which was taught by the senior censor in his capacity of catechist; and certain lectures were given to the whole college by the Greek and Rhetoric readers. For mathematics, Mr. Dodgson—then quite a young graduate—was solely responsible. The divinity lectures were given in the morning, in the interval between chapel and breakfast. They were delivered to large and heterogeneous groups of uninterested and hungry listeners, and were of little help towards study of the Bible or of the formularies of the Church.

On coming into residence, Responsions had to be faced; but this elementary examination could not be passed till the ensuing Easter; and the first two terms were practically wasted in preparation for it. There were lectures in arithmetic and the first two books of Euclid; and lectures in Greek and Latin with one's own tutor. These lectures were very unlike book lectures of modern days. There were six or eight of us, all Gordon's pupils; we sat round his room, away from table or fire, with our books in our hands, while he reclined in his armchair by the fireplace. We were usually very unpunctual in arriving, but he never blamed us; we took notes and construed as we could, and it was a rare treat to hear Gordon read off Pindar into choice English, and impart some of his exquisite scholarship to our listening

ears. But he did not press us; and as to composition—to which so much importance is now properly attached—memory fails to recall more than two pieces of Latin prose produced during the whole of our first year, or our being taxed with idleness for not producing more. The Greek reader gave a lecture, to more senior men, in the Ethics; the Rhetoric reader, in Aldrich's *Logic;* but these lectures were attended by passmen as well as classmen, and chiefly aimed at satisfying the requirements of the former. A good deal of private tuition was rendered necessary under such a system; to be well equipped in logic, candidates for Honours in Moderations usually went to one of the Fellows of New College, a most excellent teacher.

Discipline was fairly well maintained, and was enforced by "gating" and occasional impositions; but the setting of "lines," which gave employment to an old man named Boddington in Oriel Lane, was nearly extinct; the last member of the educational staff to use this weapon being Mr. Dodgson, in compelling attendance on his mathematical lectures. Long impositions however were set, and probably are still set, by the Dean in collections, but these could not safely be left to be done by deputy. "Collections" under Dean Gaisford had been a grim reality; and they lost none of their terrors under Liddell, though less depended on them. But as the undergraduates were divided for this purpose into two groups, one half appearing before the Dean, and the other half before the Sub-dean, there was a delightful uncertainty as to what would happen. The Sub-dean, who was not familiar with the educational work of the men, did his best to make the ordeal as pleasant as possible, and many an idler slipped easily

through his hands, whose brother culprit, on the other side of the Hall, met with very different treatment from the Dean.

The Hall was lighted with wax candles in brass candlesticks of three lights each; dinner was served on pewter plates, which were discarded in the next year; and manciple, cook, and butler all made their profits—and large profits they were—out of the food supplied. The manciple provided the dinner in Hall; the cook, such meat as was required at other meals; the butler, bread and butter, cheese, beer, and all such articles. The lucrative tyranny of these officials was not assailed till 1865, when the "Bread and Butter" campaign, conducted by undergraduates under the leadership of the present Sir C. T. D. Acland, brought about their downfall, and led to the appointment of a steward, and to many improvements tending to economy. A few bedmakers still survived, but the class was almost extinct. The basin of Mercury (supplied then from the Hinksey conduit) was used by the scouts as a reservoir, from which they fetched water for use on their staircases.

The dinner hour in Hall had just been changed from five to six o'clock on week-days. On Sundays it was at five, evening chapel being at four on that day. Attendance at chapel was strictly enforced. Latin prayers were said every morning at 8, and every evening at 9.15. The old Latin prayer book gave way to English in 1861, to the regret of many. On Sundays and Saints' days there were "surplice" prayers, the regular choral service of the cathedral. Holy Communion was celebrated on the first Sunday of the month, at the conclusion of choral matins, which

began at eight o'clock. Many colleges at this time had only one celebration in the Term.

Attendance at two courses of professorial lectures was still required, though it was soon afterwards abolished: and bachelors of arts, before qualifying for their M.A. degree, were obliged to keep three weeks' residence, a wasteful and useless observance, defended, even when doomed to death, on the plea that lodging-house keepers profited by it.

There were still servitors, not yet changed into exhibitioners, but they had long been relieved of all menial duties. At the other end of the social scale were the noblemen, who dined at the doctors' table on the dais, and gentlemen commoners, who sat below the B.A.s. These two orders remained till after the passing of the ordinance of 1867. The senior masters sat just above the fire on the north side; the junior masters occupied a similar position on the south. Just below the fire, on the north, were the chaplains; on the south, the bachelors of arts. All sat on benches; the only chair in the Hall was that reserved for the Dean.

The period—as has been said—was one of transition; the ordinance had been passed, and great changes were imminent. Before the end of our first Term a competitive examination for junior Studentships was held, and some good men were secured; in December of the following year two senior Students were elected, the one, Mr. A. V. Harcourt, to the Lee's readership in chemistry; the other, Mr. G. R. Luke, to a Studentship in classics. They were both distinguished members of Balliol College. With Mr. Luke's advent, the whole aspect of the place changed for us Students, who were reading for Honours at Moderations. He was a man of singular beauty of

character, of intense earnestness, and of contagious enthusiasm. He took us in hand, spent infinite trouble upon us, made us do our very best; and four first classes at the next examination were his reward. His good work met with the warmest encouragement from the Dean, and its stimulating effect was felt throughout the college. His early death by drowning in March 1862 deprived us of his splendid services, but not of the memory of his very noble life. Much had by that time been done to improve the whole system of instruction within the House, and the way was clear for further important changes. If the ordinance did not fulfil all the expectations of its promoters, it certainly formed a starting-point for much that was very beneficial.

The high regard in which Dean Liddell was held by the Queen and the Prince Consort, whose chaplain he had been made as long ago as 1846, and whose name was on the books of Christ Church, made it natural that the Prince of Wales should be placed under his charge. Accordingly, in Michaelmas term, 1859, his Royal Highness was matriculated as a member of Christ Church, and he resided at Oxford for two years, living at Frewin Hall. In 1863 the Crown Prince of Denmark came into residence, but his Oxford life was interrupted by the war between Denmark and Prussia on the Schleswig-Holstein question. In 1872 H.R.H. Prince Leopold joined the college. He lived for three years at Wykeham House, and afterwards had rooms assigned to him in Canterbury quadrangle, which he occupied during occasional visits to Oxford.

Of Dean Liddell's long reign much more might be written, but enough has been told to show how important an epoch it covers in the history of the founda-

tion. It is associated with the great and fundamental change in the government of the House, with the renovation and enlargement of its buildings, and with considerable changes and improvements in the whole system of education of its members. It should also be noted that he was the first Dean, since Aldrich, to accept the post of vice-chancellor (1870–4). He took a prominent part for many years in all academic matters, and also rendered important services to the citizens, who gratefully acknowledged his rare capacity for business and his absolute impartiality; and when, at the end of 1891, he resigned his high office, he carried to his retirement at Ascot the universal esteem of the whole of Oxford, and left a memory of an august dignity of presence and of a long life dedicated to high and righteous aims. He died at Ascot on January 18, 1898, and his body rests outside the southern wall of the sanctuary of his old cathedral church.

Of his successor, *Francis Paget*, it would not become the present writer to speak. But the sanguine hopes of the many loyal members of the House who welcomed his appointment are already gaining their fulfilment; and in a college filled to overflowing, and steadily rising in public estimation, is found an ample guarantee of the continued greatness of Christ Church.

In this short sketch of the history of Christ Church it has been found impossible to mention more than a very few of the famous men who have lived within its walls during the three centuries and a half which have passed since its foundation. Any attempt at a complete enumeration of its conspicuous "alumni"—far more any account of them—would greatly exceed the limits of the

present work. Some have been mentioned in passing, but only a very few. In Church and State, in Literature and in Science, Christ Church has always been well represented. We have already noticed the fact that five Archbishops of Canterbury and nine Archbishops of York have been members of our House, among the latter being the unconventional prelate, Lancelot Blackburne, who, in his early years, while a Student, is said to have served on the Spanish main, and whom Horace Walpole described as "the jolly old Archbishop of York, who had all the manners of a man of quality, though he had been a buccaneer and was a clergyman." Blackburne deserves the credit of bringing Joseph Butler from the obscurity of his distant northern living, when in answer to Queen Caroline's question whether Butler was dead he replied: "No madam, he is not dead, but buried." We have had five Bishops of London, among them Compton and Randolph; eight Bishops of Durham, including Shute Barrington and Van Mildert; and Sir Jonathan Trelawny is one of our four Bishops of Winchester. Among our divines are Sanderson, South, Hammond, Jane, Humphrey Prideaux, Pusey, Mozley, Liddon; nor should Philip Henry, William Penn, and the Wesleys be omitted. Among famous scholars, in addition to Gaisford, Liddell, and Scott, may be mentioned Elmsley and Linwood; among great schoolmasters, Busby and R. Freind, the latter perhaps the most polished of all writers of classical epitaphs. Pope scoffed at him for his skill in this kind of composition:

"Freind, for your epitaphs I'm grieved,
Where still so much is said,
One half will never be believed,
The other never read."

Yet no one will dispute his pre-eminence who recalls his lines inscribed on the monument of Philip Carteret, a Westminster lad who died at the age of eighteen, which may still be seen in the Abbey. A figure of Time holds out a marble scroll with this inscription :

> " Quid breves te delicias tuorum
> Næniis Phœbi chorus omnis urget,
> Et meæ falcis subito recisum
> Vulnere plangit ?
> En puer vitæ pretium caducæ !
> Hic tuam, custos vigil, ad favillam
> Semper adstabo, et memori tuebor
> Marmore famam.
> Audies clarus pietate, morum
> Integer, multæ studiosus artis :
> Hoc frequens olim leget, hæc sequetur
> Æmula pubes."

John Locke is the Christ Church representative of English philosophers. Among men of letters may be enumerated Sir Philip Sidney, William Camden, Richard Hakluyt, George Peele, and William Gager in the sixteenth century ; Corbet, Hutten, Burton, Cartwright, before the Commonwealth ; and after the Restoration, the great Deans and famous scholars already mentioned ; with the eighteenth century come Browne Willis, Archbishop Wake, Bonnell Thornton, C. M. Cracherode, George Colman and his son ; and, at its close, and in the first half of the present century, M. G. (" Monk ") Lewis, the erratic genius and friend of Byron ; Henry Hallam, H. Fynes Clinton, and Earl Stanhope ; in more recent times, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Dean Buckland, Dean Stanley, Sir Francis Doyle, Sir Charles

T. Newton, Mr. Ruskin, and Mr. Dodgson ("Lewis Carroll"); among living writers in the first rank may be mentioned Bishop Stubbs and Mr. S. R. Gardiner.

Of public men the list is long and distinguished. Christ Church boasts of ten prime ministers in the present century, Lord Grenville, the Duke of Portland, the Earl of Liverpool, Mr. Canning, the Duke of Wellington (who was not, indeed, entered on the books till he became chancellor in 1834), Sir Robert Peel, the Earl of Derby, Mr. Gladstone, the Marquess of Salisbury, and the Earl of Rosebery. It has sent to India eight governors general or viceroys: the Marquess of Wellesley, Lord Amherst, Lord Auckland, Lord Elgin, Lord Dalhousie, Lord Canning, Lord Dufferin, and Lord Northbrook. Among its members have been seven chancellors of the University: Dean Cox, the Duke of Ormonde, the Earl of Arran, the Duke of Portland, Lord Grenville, the Duke of Wellington, the Earl of Derby, and the Marquess of Salisbury.

Among other well-known public men have been Sir Dudley Carleton (Lord Dorchester), the Earl of Arlington (of the Cabal), Charles Montague (Earl of Halifax), Robert Harley (Earl of Oxford), Lord Shelburne, Earl Mansfield, George Grenville, Speaker Abbot (Lord Colchester); at a later date another Speaker, J. E. Denison (Lord Ossulston), and the philanthropic Earl of Shaftesbury; each successive Cabinet moreover has had its contingent of Christ Church men, and the bench of bishops has always been largely recruited from our members.

Many royal personages have also, as we have seen, been members of our society; among them, Frederick Count Palatine, afterwards King of Bohemia (1612).

In 1642 James (afterwards James II.) was entered on the books. Upon his visit in 1687 he supped in the deanery dining-room, and, as the Dean and canons stood round him, he told them that he was senior to most of them, for he had been entered in the buttery book after Edgehill fight in 1642. In 1670 William Henry, Prince of Orange (afterwards William III.), became a member of Christ Church; in 1733 another Prince of Orange; in 1799 the Duke of York; in 1814 the Prince Regent. The late Prince Consort was entered on our books; the Prince of Wales matriculated in 1859, and Prince Leopold in 1872. The Crown Prince of Denmark matriculated in 1863; and in the present year the Crown Prince of Siam has joined our society.

From this brief list of some of its distinguished members it will be seen that the influence of Christ Church upon England and the empire has been of a very wide, and by no means of a uniform character; it has never been associated with, or restricted to, one party or one set of opinions. Our House has produced able men of exceedingly different types, politically, socially, ecclesiastically. A society which has included among its members William Penn, John Wesley, and Dr. Pusey cannot be accused of one-sidedness in religious matters; its prime ministers show the catholicity of its political views. And in this has consisted—and still consists—its strength. It exercises a great social force, training men up by the subtle influence of a famous college, whose honourable boast it is that it touches not only the highest, but also the middle and lower ranks of society; its members form an aristocracy by no means only of wealth or birth, but of intellectual power and sterling worth; they will be found all over England

among the leaders of the country gentry; in every profession they are able, by their merit, to vindicate their right to foremost places; and, wherever they are labouring they are conscious of the tie which unites them to so many others who have, like themselves, during the critical years when character was forming, been brought under the spell of the high traditions and noble examples which have gathered round their splendid home at Oxford.

Yet Christ Church, it must be confessed, has suffered to some extent, as a numerous society is always likely to suffer, from the prevalence of cliques or "sets" among its members, so that they have been divided into many groups, to the impoverishment of its unity and common sentiment; and it has suffered also in the past, in respect to its influence on university life, through a somewhat ill-judged exclusiveness. By declining the office of vice-chancellor its Deans have debarred themselves from exercising their legitimate authority in academical matters, and its foremost tutors have been sometimes over ready to confine their energies to the discharge of their college duties, and to take but little part in the general business of the University.

Nevertheless, as one reads the words in which our royal founder describes the purpose which he designed Christ Church to fulfil, one may fairly claim that, after three centuries and a half, it still maintains in a remarkable degree the characteristics which he wished it to display. It was founded, as the letters patent declare,

"Ad honorem et gloriam Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cui soli debemus et quod vivimus movemur et sumus, et quod in gratiam Dei Patris recipimur, ad evangelicæ veritatis

explicationem atque propugnationem, ad errorum et omnis falsæ religionis extirpationem, ad augendum et continuandum pietatis cultum, ad omnis generis bonarum literarum incrementum, ad linguarum cognitionem, ad juventutis in virtute et literarum scientia educationem, ad pauperum et inopia afflictorum sublevationem, denique ne aliquando desint in regno nostro homines rerum cognitione imbuti ac piis moribus expoliti, qui veluti ex equo Trojano sic ex Academia nostra Oxon perpetua successione in omnes regni nostri partes prodire possint ac ignaros docere et pietatis exemplo informare."

CHAPTER X

A WALK ROUND THE BUILDINGS

It will now be well to look more closely at the buildings of Christ Church, and point out such details as are specially worthy of attention, even at the risk of repeating something of what has been already told.

The long western front, facing St. Aldate's, is part of Wolsey's original design, and two thirds of it, or more, were finished before his fall.* The northern turrets and the adjoining portion of the western side were completed subsequently; the exact date is not known, but from the fact of some fragments of St. Frideswide's shrine (which was demolished in 1538) having been found embedded in one of the interior blocks of masonry, it may be inferred that this portion was erected soon after that date, at a much earlier epoch than the northern side of the Quadrangle, which was completed after the Restoration. Bishop Robinson, in his contemporary account of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Oxford in 1566, writes thus of the Great Quadrangle: "Hujus Collegii tres sunt partes *fere exædificatæ*, at quarta, quæ ad Boream spectat, vix fundamenta jacta ostendit." On the outside of the western front a break in the masonry, running the

* The western front of Thornbury Castle, Gloucestershire, bears a striking resemblance, on a smaller scale, to the western front of Christ Church. It was built by the Duke of Buckingham in rivalry, it is said, of Wolsey.

whole way up from the ground, clearly indicates the limits of Wolsey's work ; and a window of ashlar stone with handsome mullions, which has been brought to light in a party wall at this spot, evidently belonged to the northern face of the then unfinished buildings. Ingram thus describes this feature :

" From the alteration of rooms on the ground floor of the western side of the Great Quadrangle in No. 7 (where formerly was the common room for masters of arts) in September 1832 we were accidentally enabled to see exactly how far Wolsey proceeded in erecting the western side of that square. At three arches or divisions from the northern extremity, a cross wall was exposed to view, in which is a window of cut stone, with remnants of the frame which once filled it ; this window is of an oblong form, and has a stone munnion in the centre. Over it runs a cornice, the entire breadth of the building, which shews abundant signs of its having been for many years exposed to the weather." (*Memorials*, p. 54.)

The balustrade which exists on the street side is a remnant of John Fell's work, supplanting Wolsey's original battlement, and to Fell's time also belongs the stately central tower, designed by Sir Christopher Wren. On the corner turrets at each end of the façade may be traced the Cardinal's hat, and the two pillars set saltire-wise. Over the great gateway are carved the arms of Charles II. and of the see of Oxford impaling Fell. The statue of Wolsey in the central niche occupied till 1872 a position within the quadrangle above the archway leading to the Hall. It was executed in 1719, by F. Bird of Oxford, at the expense of Sir Jonathan Trelawny, then Bishop of Winchester.

The vaulted ceiling of the gateway is profusely decorated with shields. In the centre are the arms of Henry VIII., Charles I., Charles II., and Wolsey. The other shields, divided into four groups of eleven each, bear the arms of the principal subscribers to the fund for the completion of the tower. They represent many noble families connected with Christ Church, and may perhaps some day receive, as they deserve, their proper tinctures.

On the eastern side of the great gate are repeated the arms of Henry VIII. and of Wolsey, and the see of Oxford impaling Fell. The statue of Queen Anne in the niche was the gift of Robert Harley. On the wall of the quadrangle closely adjoining the archway on its south side may be seen one ancient stone with an inscription too much defaced to be made out. The date seems to be 1577.

In the tower above hangs the mighty "Tom," "magnus Thomas Clusius Oxoniensis" as it was styled when recast, after two unsuccessful attempts, under John Fell. This famous bell (seven feet one inch in diameter, and weighing more than seven tons) was originally dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury, and bore the legend:

"In Thomæ laude resono Bim Bom sine fraude."

It hung in the central tower of Oseney Abbey till the transference of the see from that magnificent home to St. Frideswide's. Moved at a cost of twenty shillings, it was hoisted up into the cathedral tower together with the other Oseney bells; and there it remained till John Fell's time, having once in Mary's reign had its name and sex changed from Tom to Mary, in honour of the Queen.

"When 'Great Tom' was transplanted to Christ Church," writes Wood, "Dr. Tresham, who was canon, baptised it with the name of Mary, for joy, as Dr. Humphrey saith, of Queen Mary's reign, and being about that time vice-chancellor of the university, and hearing it accidentally ring when learned Jewel was with him about other business, burst out into these words: 'O bellam et suavem harmoniam! O pulcram Mariam! Ut sonat musice! Ut tinnit melodice! Ut placet auribus mirifice.' Thus he; and so much was the old man delighted with the noise of it that he promised the students if they would come to mass, which was then restored in Queen Mary's days, to get the 'Lady Bell' of Bampton, of which place he was vicar, and others added to it, and make it the sweetest ring of bells in England."*

From its new resting-place in Wren's tower the great bell first sounded forth on the anniversary of the Restoration, May 29, 1684; and from that day has discharged its nightly office of "clusius," in warning scholars of the closing of the college gates, as it had done before, adds Wood, from the Cathedral tower. The tower over the Hall staircase in the south-eastern corner, designed by Mr. Bodley, but as yet lacking completion, carries the twelve bells which form the famous Christ Church peal. Seven of these bells came from Oseney; their names are contained in a rough hexameter line:

"Hautclere, Douce, Clement, Austin, Marie, Gabriel et John."

"All which," writes Wood, "for the most part, towards the suppression, being before broke and re-cast, had gotten

* *City of Oxford* ii. p. 220.

new names, which by tradition we have thus: Mary and Jesus, Meribus and Lucas, New Bell and Thomas, Conger and Goldeston."

To the seven Oseney bells three were added to fill the space in the cathedral belfry vacated by "Tom" on his removal, and two more were given in 1898.

The restoration of the Great Quadrangle under Dean Liddell has been already described, but a few points of ancient interest remain to be noticed. In the two staircases to the south and in the first to the north of the great gate may still be seen the original stairs of solid oak and the doorways bearing Wolsey's devices. In one of the spandrils of the doorway of staircase 5 there is carved the pomegranate of Catherine of Aragon, commemorating perhaps her visit in 1518, when she came from Abingdon under Wolsey's guidance to worship at the shrine of St. Frideswide. Many of the doorways, excepting those on the north side, are of Wolsey's date and bear his devices; and the inner oaken doorways of staircases 3 and 4 are similarly adorned. On the south side, beneath the Hall, are the masters' common room and the offices of the treasurer and of the steward (part of which formed the choristers' school-room till a few years ago). The adjoining staircases to the west of the Hall were refitted after the fire of 1809, as were the lodgings of the canon of the sixth stall in the south-west corner. Here Dr. Pusey lived from January 12, 1829, till a few weeks before his death in September 1882; and it is worth notice that one of the arches of the quadrangle has been left unfinished in that corner, the long perpendicular window with its transom running up to its full height and

interrupting the arch. This was so left out of respect to Dr. Pusey and his only son Philip, whose study the upper portion of the window lighted. In the centre of the quadrangle, the traditional site of an ancient preaching cross, lies the basin of Mercury, a famous spot in Christ Church annals; but the bronze head of Mercury himself—whose statue, dethroned more than seventy years ago, was hidden for many years in a stone-mason's yard—now rests in dignified but inaccessible seclusion in the Wake archives of the library, to which safe home it was entrusted by the Rev. T. Vere Bayne.

Above the north-eastern or Kill-Canon archway, is a modern statue of Dean John Fell, the gift of Dean Liddell; above it may be seen the arms of Henry VIII., Wolsey, Fell, and Liddell. An earlier statue of Fell, which occupied the same position before the restoration of the quadrangle, is now the garden of Nuneham Park. It had suffered in its time many indignities at the hands of undergraduates. The new statue of Wolsey over the Hall archway was given by Dr. Liddon.

The masters' common room, beneath the western end of the Hall, is a handsome apartment containing many interesting portraits, among them a curious contemporary painting—on wood—of Dean Owen as vice-chancellor, preceded by his bedels. Over the fireplace is an exquisite panel of ancient white marble, representing olive leaves and berries carved in relief, which was brought from Greece by the Rev. J. W. Mackie, a Student of the House for many years, who died in 1848, and to whose generosity is also due the bust of Proserpine in the library. This common room was originally due to a benefaction of Dr. Busby; and an agreement between him and the chapter, dated June 9, 1667,

gives a full account of his intentions. The terms agreed upon were:

"1. That the new low room beneath the west end of the hall be for ever set apart and applied to the use of the Mathematick and Oriental lectures to be founded by the Reverend Dr. Busby; as also to the use of the masters, students, and others of this house for their public fires and suchlike occasions.

"2. That the benefaction in the foundation and the charge in fitting the said room be entered into the book of benefactors to the said college.

"3. That if at any time hereafter the room before mentioned be alienated or diverted from the use aforesaid, that then the sum or sums of money expended by the aforesaid doctor in fitting the said room be repaid unto him, his executors, or assigns by the said dean and chapter.

"4. That both the lecturers do read yearly 25 lectures, viz.: in Michaelmas term 8, in Lent term 8, in Easter term 5, in Act term 4.

"5. That the mathematical lecturer read on Mondays at nine in the morning, or if any accident as holidays or the like divert at that time, then on Saturdays at the same hour. That the Oriental lecturer read on Saturdays immediately after the undergraduates coming from corrections in the hall, and if the said accidents divert at that time, then on Mondays in the afternoon at one of the clock.

"6. That all undergraduates be obliged to be auditors of the said lectures."

It is further stated that a pew was set up for the delivery of the lectures, but the pew, if ever erected, has long since vanished; and the benefaction seems never to have been completed, though a catechetical lecture, to be delivered in one of the parish churches of Oxford,

was certainly established by him. The common room as conceived by Busby would not have been a cosy apartment, but it certainly became so, though the introduction of a carpet did not take place till well within the present century. The room was much altered and improved about a quarter of a century ago, under the skilful direction of the present treasurer, the Rev. R. Godfrey Faussett. The vaulting of the roof, supported by heavy pillars, which gave a crypt-like appearance to the apartment, was removed, and the floor of the Hall above was supported by iron girders cased in oak. Some of the stone work of the vaulting, still coated with paint, may be seen bordering the little lawn of the common room garden, which was made at the same time; and an approach to the room was constructed on its eastern, instead of its western, side, the passage which now exists being then made, and the old passage turned into common room offices.

This new passage leads into the court where the anatomy school, now the chemical laboratory, was erected, as has been described, in 1766, chiefly from the benefactions of Matthew Lee and John Freind.

The Great Quadrangle measures 264 by 261 feet, and beneath the tower at its south-eastern corner is one of the chief glories of Christ Church, the vaulted roof of the Hall staircase with its delicate fan tracery, supported by a single slender shaft. This very beautiful work dates from Samuel Fell's time, just before the civil war.

"As for the place where we go up into the hall, which was open on the top, and a confused way in building, and scarce any steps, he made it as it is now by the help of ——

Smith, an artificer of London, and built the arch as now it is."*

This is all that has been ascertained about the architect, who certainly deserved to be better known. The present staircase, it should be added, was not part of his design, but was constructed by Wyatt at the beginning of the present century. The bosses of the roof bear the arms of Charles I., the ostrich plumes of the Prince of Wales, the arms of the University of Oxford, and Wolsey's leopard set in ducal crown. The lobby of the Hall was first screened by doors in 1777. In the closet below the central flight of steps will be found the old sedan chair, used not many years ago to convey the canons' ladies to evening parties.

The Hall is 115 feet long, 40 feet wide, and 50 feet high. The date of its completion (1529) may be seen on the bosses at the extreme ends of the roof. It was originally paved with yellow and green tiles, and in the windows were set up "47 of my Lord Grace's arms," and "246 bends or poses called *Dominus mihi adjutor*." The roof and wainscoting probably represent the original design, though the woodwork has been much renewed, but the louvre destroyed in the fire of 1720 has never been replaced. The great west window contains interesting remains of the original glass; two rows of shields, those ensigned with a cardinal's hat displaying the arms of four of the sees which Wolsey held impaled with his own—viz., Durham, York, Lincoln, Bath and Wells, and also of St. Alban's Abbey. There are, moreover, the royal arms of Henry VIII., and the arms of Clare. Why this last shield should appear in Christ Church it is

* Ingram, *Memorials*, i. p. 51 *n*, quoted from Peshall.

difficult to say; possibly it has drifted hither from Gloucester College, the bishop's palace for a time. The medallions in the alternate rows display upon a field vert the various badges of Wolsey, his monogram, and the arms of York, not the pallium as impaled above, but gules, two keys in saltire argent, in chief a crown or.

The other windows near the daïs are filled with good modern glass, the gift of Archdeacon Clerke, the Rev. Herbert Salwey, and the Rev. E. F. Sampson. Archdeacon Clerke's window, in commemoration of the Prince of Wales and Crown Prince of Denmark, is on the south side of the daïs, and is of considerable heraldic interest. A few ancient pieces of glass still remain in the window in the noblemen's oriel. The central bosses of the roof throughout its length bear the arms of the see of Winchester, sometimes impaling Wolsey, encircled with the Order of the Garter; and above the roof plate, along both sides of the Hall, run a series of the badges of Wolsey, and a line of shields bearing alternately T. E. and T. W., for Thomas Ebor. and Thomas Winton. The wainscoting is decorated with shields bearing in orderly repetition—(1) Arms of the University of Oxford. (2) Arms of Wolsey. (3) Tudor rose. (4) Arms of Henry VIII. (5) Portcullis. (6) Arms of Oseney. (7) Fleur de lys. (8) Pastoral staves saltire. (9) Pillars saltire.

Portraits of Henry VIII., Wolsey, and Elizabeth occupy central positions above the daïs. In the corner of Wolsey's picture is the earliest existing view of the buildings of Christ Church. The more famous Deans are also over the daïs. Of the other pictures, all, with scarcely an exception, are portraits of former Students.

Among the few exceptions are John Wesley (commoner) and Edward Bouverie Pusey (commoner and canon, but never Student). Some of the portraits are of very high artistic merit, as, for instance, Archbishops Markham and Robinson by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Lord Mendip and Chief Baron Skynner by Gainsborough. Among the more modern paintings, Watts's Dean Liddell, Millais's Mr. Gladstone, and Herkomer's Dr. Liddon are remarkable works; the last, painted after Dr. Liddon's death by an artist who had never seen him, is a marvellous likeness. Mr. Herkomer has since nearly equalled this work by a portrait of Mr. C. L. Dodgson, which was executed under the same difficult circumstances, and now hangs at the bottom of the Hall. The lobby and lecture rooms, as well as the canons' lodgings and chapter house, contain many other interesting pictures of the famous members of our House. It used to be considered an honour for a distinguished "alumnus" to be allowed to present his portrait. Now, alas! most have to be paid for by subscription.

The kitchen, the first completed part of Wolsey's work, is a cube of 40 feet. It has been scarcely altered since its completion, except by the addition of modern apparatus, the curtailment of the area of its offices, and the provision of modern water supply and drainage. The great ranges may still be seen, one with its wide open fire, and spits worked by a smoke-jack. In the centre is the space for the gridiron, and the femerell or louvre above. Dr. London in his report to Wolsey on the buildings, at the end of 1526, writes enthusiastically about this quarter of the college.

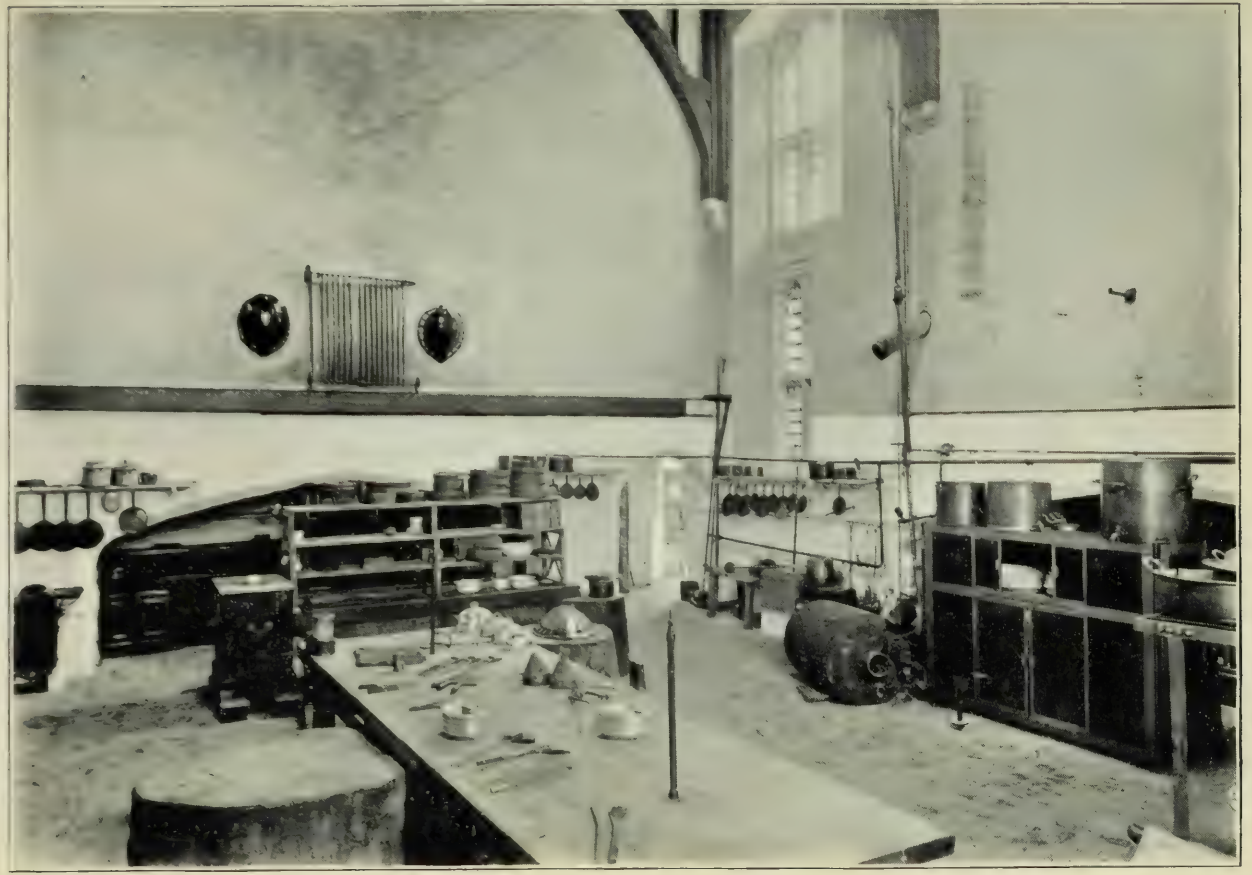
"The kitchen is finished, save only the louver, and all this Christmas the dean and canons had all their victuals prepared there. Behind the kitchen southward be goodly larder houses, pastry houses, lodgings for common servants, slaughter and fish houses, stables, with such other necessary buildings, substantially and goodly done in such manner as no two of the best colleges in Oxford have rooms so goodly and convenient. And these places be all cleansed with water so oft as need shall require currently passing through them all, either by the common stream or else by policy. For all the water which shall at rains issue into my lord's grace's college is by a goodly vault conveyed into the sink of the kitchen, and that sink is in every place so large that, if any stopping should chance, a man may go in to purge the stoppage, and is as well and substantially wrought as any part of my lord's college."*

Wolsey's gridiron may still be seen hanging on the wall. Above the femerell, which must have been more magnificent than the present one, stood a metal griffin with a vane; and above the kitchen chimney were Wolsey's arms, ensigned with a mitre or and over that a cardinal's hat, supported also by two griffins argent: and it is said that these verses were placed beneath, contrasting the leopards of Wolsey with the lions of England:

"Esse superba potes domus inclyta tum Leopardo
Pontificisque armis esse superba potes;
Sed tamen e triplici magis esto superba Leone;
Sic Leo plus juris quam Leopardus habet."

These verses are found among the Rawlinson MSS. But it is not likely that Wolsey would have approved

* Maxwell Lyte, *History of the University of Oxford*, p. 447.



From a photograph by the [*Oxford Camera Club*

WOLSEY'S KITCHEN

of them, and they are probably of a somewhat later date than his time.

The approach from the kitchen to the Hall has been slightly altered in recent years, but the main staircase is of Wolsey's time; it emerges in the Hall lobby close by the buttery, which is a handsome room restored by John Hammond, canon of the fourth stall, in the reign of George I. (1722).

The cloisters were ruthlessly mutilated by Wolsey, who removed the whole of the western side. They were almost new when he touched them, for they were completed in 1499, as we learn from a document preserved among the muniments of Chichester, a chapter act of Prior Warre and the Austin canons of Holy Trinity and St. Frideswide. The buildings of the monastery were at this period in a very dilapidated state, and the funds of the society were at a low ebb; and Robert Sherborn, a Wykehamist, dean of St. Paul's, and afterwards bishop successively of St. David's and Chichester, most generously rebuilt the cloisters at his own expense from their very foundation. The portion which survived Wolsey's treatment seems to have remained untouched till the seventeenth century, at which time (probably under Dean Duppa) the Gothic tracery of the windows was removed, and a door inserted in the east cloister wall opposite the Norman door of the chapter house, so as to give direct access to this room for persons coming from the Hall staircase, a stone pavement being laid across the cloister green, the level of which was much raised. This condition of things remained till 1871, and is depicted in Ingram's *Memorials*, i. p. 17. An upper story was also added to the south and east cloister; and in 1772

the remnant of the north cloister was closed and converted into a muniment room under the supervision of Mr. Keen, at a cost of £154 4*s.* 2*d.* In 1871 came the work of careful restoration. The muniment room was cleared away, and the vaulting of the north cloister, which had been destroyed or never completed, was made good, and it was extended westward as far as possible. The tracery of the cloister windows was restored, and the rubbish in the cloister garth removed, so as to show the external bases of the walls. The bosses of the vaulting of the north cloister have lately, through the liberality of the Rev. T. Vere Bayne, been carved and adorned with heraldic achievements which not only add to their beauty, but have considerable interest in relation to the history of the House. The central bosses, beginning from the west, bear the shields of Dean Liddell and the *seven* canons who formed the chapter in 1871. Two of the eight canonries, it will be remembered, had been suppressed in 1858, but only one of these had become actually vacant; the second did not lapse till the death of Dr. Jelf, which occurred in the summer of 1871, so that there were seven, and not six, canons in this interval. The canonical shields, taken in order, are those of Clerke, Pusey, Jelf, Ogilvie, Heurtley, Payne Smith, and Bright. In the two most easterly bays and in the adjoining portion of the east cloister will be seen; (1) The see of York, and grouped near it the arms of the nine Christ Church holders of the northern primacy, namely, Piers, Matthews, Dolben, Blackburne, Gilbert, Hay Drummond, Markham, Vernon, and Longley; (2) The see of Canterbury, and the arms of the five Christ Church occupants of the chair of Augustine, namely, Wake, Potter, Moore, Howley, and Longley;

(3) Wolsey's arms and the arms of the sees which he held, namely York, Winchester, Lincoln, Durham, and Bath and Wells. The carved likenesses of the Queen, the Chancellor (Lord Salisbury), the Bishop (Stubbs) and the Dean (Paget) complete the ornamentation of these bays.

The remaining portion of the cloister retains its ancient carved vaulting, except over the entrance to the chapter house, where a wooden ceiling affords an opportunity for another generous gift. In the east cloister a passage leads to the slype, through a wrought-iron gate bearing the arms of Dean Liddell, whose body lies in the graveyard beyond. The chapter house door, with its deep Norman mouldings and flanking Norman lights, belongs to a very much earlier date than the cloisters or the existing chapter house. It probably was the work of Prior Guimond, chaplain to King Henry I. He was the first prior of the canons regular of St. Augustine, established in the monastery early in the twelfth century, and ruled the priory till 1141. Its mouldings appear to have suffered from the effects of fire at a remote period; perhaps from the disastrous conflagration of 1190.

Over the south cloister is a row of windows belonging to an apartment which has probably been entered by very few Christ Church men. It is the Allestree library, and the only person who has access to it is the Regius professor of divinity. It contains the library of Dr. Richard Allestree, the loyal churchman and close friend of John Fell and Dolben, who with them maintained the services of the Church of England at Beam Hall during the days of the Commonwealth, and was also, during this dark period, employed on private embassies

to royalists on the continent. After the Restoration he became canon of Christ Church and Regius professor of divinity; he was also provost of Eton, and his body lies in the chapel of that College. He had inherited the books of Henry Hammond, the divine, whose life was written by Fell, and who died in 1660. Hammond was Allestree's devoted friend. His library, thus augmented, was conveyed by a deed dated November 14, 1680 (a few months before his death), to the chancellor, masters and scholars of the University of Oxford, in trust for the use of himself during his life, then for the use of Dean Fell, and then for the use of his successors being professors of divinity. The deed provided for regular visitation of the library by the university authorities; but no funds were left for maintaining it, or for the provision of a room as a home for the books. It was therefore probably soon after Allestree's death that the present chamber, or rather two chambers, were fitted up in close proximity to the college library as it then existed in the old refectory; and there the books have remained ever since that time for the private use of the Regius professor of divinity. It is a fair theological library of that date, and contains also many books relating to foreign travel, probably collected by Allestree when he journeyed on the continent; among them is a curious volume, *The Wonders of the Little World*, by Nathaniel Wanley, rector of Holy Trinity, Coventry, 1678. Perhaps the most interesting book is that which is seen on the table in the photograph. It is a bible printed by R. Stephens, consisting of the Vulgate text and the Zürich version in parallel columns, together with the commentary of Vetabulus. It was published in 1547, and this copy is richly bound in velvet, and

From a photograph by the] [*Oxford Camera Club*

THE ALLESTREE LIBRARY, OVER SOUTH CLOISTER

bears on the cover the Tudor rose and crown, and the letters E. R. in gold and silver thread. The title page is illuminated and bears Elizabeth's arms. It was probably presented to her on one of her royal progresses.

The chapter house is an exquisite specimen of early English architecture. It is an oblong room of four bays, the vaulting springing from clustered shafts resting on brackets; the eastern end is formed by an arcade of five pointed arches pierced for light. Some beautiful fragments of ancient glass, formerly in the cathedral, have been placed in the side windows, which also contain the arms of some Christ Church prelates: London impaling Ravis; Bath and Wells impaling Godwyn; Hereford impaling Westphaling; and Ely impaling Heton. There are also the arms of Richard Eedes (azure, a chevron engrailed between three leopards' heads argent), Student, canon, and dean of Worcester. It is interesting to note that three of these dignitaries had been Westminster Students and close friends, Heton and Eedes having been elected to Christ Church in 1571 and Ravis in 1575. Probably the gifts of their shields, after they had obtained positions of eminence, to the chapter house in which they had sat together as canons, was a concerted act, prompted, one may guess, by Leonard Hutten, another Westminster Student of the same standing, of whose antiquarian tastes and conspicuous loyalty to his House mention has already been made. Bishop Westphaling was of senior standing to the others, but was united to them through the marriage of his daughter to R. Eedes. Martin Heton is the only Oxford man, except Dean Cox, who held the see of Ely. He was an able preacher, and as he was a corpu-

lent man, James I. paid him a characteristic compliment, saying, "Fat men are apt to make lean sermons, but yours are not lean, but larded with learning." Godwyn, who became Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1584, was of somewhat earlier standing than the others. He had been Dean, 1565–7, then Dean of Canterbury, and he died in 1590, aged seventy-three. At the east end of the chapter house there has been placed the foundation stone of Wolsey's college at Ipswich. This stone had been rescued from destruction by the Rev. Richard Canning, rector of Harkstead and Freston, in Suffolk, and was bequeathed by him to the Dean and chapter in 1789. The "Episcopus Lidensis" who laid the stone was John Holte, suffragan of London, titular Bishop of Lydda.

A staircase on the south side of the room leads into an inner chamber where the chapter records, including the Chartulary of St. Frideswide, are kept. Here are interesting portraits of Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, Henry VIII., Queen Elizabeth, and Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia; also of Peter Martyr, Samuel Fell, Henry Aldrich, W. Fuller, Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Busby, J. King, Bishop of London, and a charming miniature of Charles Boyle, which formerly belonged to his tutor, Atterbury.

None of the buildings of the college have benefited more by judicious restoration than the chapter house. It was in a deplorable state till about twenty years ago.

"A party wall had been built across it, dividing it into two nearly equal portions, and the flooring of the inner part, which was used for chapter business and hospitable

dinners, had been raised within a few feet of the bases of the shafts of the tracery which clothed the walls and the graceful eastern window with its five pointed lights. Beneath this floor a cellar had been formed, where the chapter wine was stored. All these monstrous obstructions were now swept away, and the noble proportions of the room were once more shown."*

The other buildings in this part of the college have been already sufficiently described.

On the north side of Kill-Canon has been recently placed a statue of Dean Liddell, the gift of Sir John Mowbray and Mr. Vere Bayne. The house on the left, before Peckwater is reached, bearing a large sun dial (the only one in Christ Church) on its south wall, was erected by Dean John Fell to provide lodgings for the canon of the third stall after the fire of 1669. It contains one of the prettiest drawing-rooms in the college, now temporarily used as a lecture-room, and the outer door (as may be seen in Loggan's drawing) was originally in the northernmost of the two bays, an arched passage giving admission to the garden where the entrance door is now placed. The lodgings were considerably enlarged in 1859 by the annexation of rooms belonging to the canonry suppressed at the death of Dr. Barnes. At the end of the garden belonging to this stall are some ancient domestic buildings, probably brewhouses, and beyond them, abutting on Blue Boar Street, lies a long stone building, which was formerly a tennis court, but was broken up, in 1832, into stables for three of the canonical residences.

Of Peckwater and Canterbury quadrangles enough has been already said; but a few words must be added about

* *Memoir of H. G. Liddell*, pp. 163–4.

the interior of the New Library, which contains many treasures. In the entrance lobby are placed Chantrey's famous statue of Cyril Jackson, and several noble busts; on the staircase is a graceful head of Proserpine by the American sculptor, Hiram Power; and Rysbrack's statue of John Locke stands in the opposite niche. The upper room of the library (142 feet long, 30 feet broad, and 37 feet high) is lined with finely carved Norwegian oak of an agreeable tone, and the ceiling and walls are enriched with fine mouldings. The books are arranged under the names of the chief donors, Nicholson, Aldrich, Stratford, and Morris on the north side; Archbishop Wake, and Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery, on the south side. The latter, the Boyle of the Phalaris controversy, left his books to the college in 1731. Robert Burton also left many curious volumes; they all bear his name written by his own hand. Dr. Morris (*ob.* 1648) was Regius professor of Hebrew. It should be mentioned that in addition to a bequest of rare Oriental books he left a small annual sum for the purchase of books, and a rent-charge of £5 for ever to be paid to an M.A. Student of Christ Church chosen by the Dean for a speech "in schola linguarum" in honour of Sir Thomas Bodley, and as a panegyric and encouragement of the Hebrew studies. This speech was to be delivered each year on November 8, in the presence of the visitors of the Bodleian Library after the conclusion of the annual visitation. The bequest was to take effect after his wife's death, and the first speech was delivered on November 8, 1682, by Thomas Sparke.*

From the main library smaller rooms open out to the south—they are called the archives—and in the Wake

* See Macray's *Annals of the Bodleian*, p. 105.

archives, accessible only to the Wake trustees* and the librarian, are deposited most of its chief treasures. A few indeed have been placed in a glass case in the library, where may be seen a service book for Wolsey's use, containing the Epistles for certain festivals, each page exquisitely illuminated, and bearing the arms or badges of the cardinal; a French MS. of the New Testament, probably dating from 1280; Walter de Milemete *de officiis regum*, 1326; and among many other curiosities a pathetic relic of a much later age, the Latin exercise book of Queen Anne's son, William Duke of Gloucester, with corrections by his tutor, Bishop Burnet. There is also the original letter commanding the removal of John Locke.

Within the archives are many valuable MSS. given by Wake and others;† some are of rare beauty from the richness of the illumination. There are early MSS. of Wycliff's bible, of Chaucer, of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, and one of the original manuscript copies of Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*. This work was written between 1554 and 1557, but it was not printed till 1641, and then only in a garbled form. Several MS. copies, however, were circulated in Elizabeth's reign, and our copy is one of more than a dozen that are known to be in existence.

There are also some very precious collections of coins, the gift chiefly of Wake, Barton, Brown, Welborne, Cracherode and Goodenough; among them is a complete series of the gold zodiacal rupees of the Mogul Emperor

* The Wake trustees are the Dean and the Regius professors of Divinity and Hebrew.

† A full catalogue of the MSS. of Christ Church was published in 1867 by G. W. Kitchin, the present Dean of Durham.

Jehangir. Among the more precious printed volumes in the library is the *Antiphonale ad usum Ecclesiæ Sarum*, of which the British Museum possesses the only other copy that is known.

The lower floor of the library, which was enclosed and made into a picture gallery—under the superintendence of Mr. Keen—within ten years of the completion of the upper part, contains a very interesting collection of specimens of the chief Italian schools, from Cimabue to the Caracci, and a few works by Holbein, Vandyke, and others. The larger number of the pictures were a bequest of General Guise, who died in 1765; the specimens of the earliest Italian masters were the gift of the Hon. W. T. H. Fox Strangways; Mr. Cracherode presented the fragments of Raphael's cartoons; Lord F. Campbell, the picture attributed to Vandyke, "The Continence of Scipio." The large collection of original drawings by the great masters is perhaps the most valuable artistic treasure of the library. There may also be seen in a case a Cardinal's hat belonging to Wolsey, which has an unimpeachable pedigree; and a chair at the end of the upper library may be claimed more doubtfully as his.

The Cathedral Church.—It is not proposed to give an account of the architecture or chief antiquities of this most interesting church, or of its relation to the diocese of Oxford—this task has been well performed by other writers—but rather to consider it briefly in relation to the college to which it has served as a chapel from the days of Wolsey to the present time.

It was certainly not Wolsey's intention that the monastic church of St. Frideswide should supply this want to the great society which he founded. He had designed, and even begun, as has been related, a stately

chapel which was to form the north side of the great quadrangle, and when his fall occurred the walls had been already raised some feet above the ground. In this state they appear to have remained till the reign of Charles I., when they were demolished to make room for the present canons' lodgings. But the foundations still exist beneath the surface of the gardens; and a curious projection in Kill-Canon, on its eastern side, has sometimes been thought to be part of the substructions of the high altar; yet this is not probable, if one may judge from the position of the foundations of the buttresses of the northern wall which were uncovered a few years ago in the garden of the eighth stall, and which lie too far to the north.

One question which has caused much perplexity should here be mentioned. If Wolsey designed so magnificent a chapel, what did he intend to do with the existing church, or at least with that portion which he left after demolishing three bays of the nave? According to Wood it was to serve "for private prayers and certain theological exercises." It was a building full of ancient associations, and contained St. Frideswide's shrine, an object of resort and veneration with which Wolsey was scarcely likely to interfere, though possibly he might have designed to transfer it ultimately to the more magnificent home which his new chapel, when finished, would provide. So far, indeed, from desiring to injure the ancient church, where it did not impede his more splendid projects, two entries in the "journal book of the expenses of all the buildings of Christ Church" seem to show that he spent a considerable sum on the alteration of the choir.* We there read of "payments

* Gutch, *Collectanea Curiosa*, vol i. No. 20.

made for the making framing and kerving of the new vault of the roof of the Quere within the foresaid college," and also "for the making carving framing and garnishing the vault of the roof of the new church of the said college." These entries can scarcely refer to any other building than St. Frideswide's church; and though the expression "new church" in the second entry is undoubtedly puzzling, it might well be a business phrase for the much altered building, with nave half demolished and choir just renovated and enriched with the new and glorious vault of fan tracery for which a portion of the bill had now been paid.* At any rate, the old church remained, and the new chapel was never built; and Christ Church has enjoyed the inestimable advantage of inheriting, for the daily worship of its members, a building hallowed by high antiquity, possessing associations which connect the present with those far off Saxon days—long before the foundation of the earliest college

* Much discussion has taken place over this question. Mr. G. Gilbert Scott, in his report to the governing body in 1869, after referring to the matter and quoting Dr. Shirley's opinion in favour of a somewhat earlier date, adds, "It seems on the whole to be an open question which additional evidence may settle either way." Mr. James Parker assumes that Wolsey carried out this work, and Ingram (*Memorials*, i. p. 5, note) observes that "it would seem that Wolsey's plan was to preserve the choir and transepts, modernising them in the style of the chapels of Magdalene or New College, and that he had in a great degree completed the choir and commenced the transepts, as may still be seen by the end windows on each side of the north transept, and the unfinished state of several other parts, when the progress of the work was interrupted by his disgrace." The advocates of an earlier date, corresponding to that of the roof of the divinity school, should remember that at the end of the fifteenth century the Monastery of St. Frideswide was in great poverty, and the buildings in disrepair, as is shown by the circumstances attending the rebuilding of the cloisters in or about 1499.

in Oxford—when St. Frideswide placed her convent on the gravel bank just above the meadows intersected by the streams of the Isis.

Besides some undoubted Saxon remains, there still exists the stately Norman church (part of which indeed Mr. Park Harrison by many ingenious and weighty arguments has claimed as Ethelred's work), together with the additions which were made to it in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The monuments of the monastic period which survive comprise the tombs of Elizabeth Lady Montacute (1355), who bestowed upon the convent the southern portion of the Christ Church meadow, of Prior Sutton (1314), and of Sir George Nowers (1425). The fragments of the base of St. Frideswide's second shrine (erected in 1289) have been carefully put together by Mr. Park Harrison, and the so-called "watching chamber," perhaps the third shrine for containing the remains of the famous saint, bears witness to the splendour of the observances which gathered round her resting place. The glass of the Latin chapel—excluding some modern additions—is of the fourteenth century, to which period also belongs the very rich jewelled glass of St. Lucy's chapel, where the one white quarry substituted for the head of Becket tells of Henry VIII.'s fierce edict for the destruction of all memorials of that prelate. The stalls of the Latin chapel are perhaps connected with Wolsey's time, and may have been placed in the choir by him. On one of them is carved a cardinal's hat. The tomb of James Zouch, placed according to his directions beneath the north window of the transept and ornamented with the pen-case and ink-horn of a notary, belongs to the beginning of the sixteenth century. There are also the remains, more or less perfect, of twenty

brasses, dating from the beginning of the fourteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century.

We may now note a few of the objects of interest in the church which relate to Henry VIII.'s foundation, though indeed grievous loss has been incurred by the destruction of many interesting monuments. It was not only in Duppa's time that our monuments came to be regarded as "old superfluous stuff," to be got rid of, broken up, or displaced. The list of tombstones and inscriptions given in Gutch's "Wood" shows how serious the injury has been, and how great the loss inflicted, by reckless removal of sculptured stone and heraldic glass.

Of the bishops of the diocese only three are buried here; John King, the first bishop, John Fell, who held the bishopric together with the deanery, and Edward Smallwell, who retained his canonry first with the see of St. David's and afterwards with that of Oxford, till his death in 1799. The bishopric of Oxford was poorly endowed, and a canonry was frequently held *in commendam* with it, until some richer preferment was obtained. Compton, Potter, Randolph, Jackson, and Lloyd all kept their canonries while bishops of the see. The bishopric of Llandaff, often enriched by the deanery of St. Paul's, was held with a canonry by Gilbert, and for a short time by Van Mildert; St. David's in like manner by Trevor and Smallwell; St. Asaph by Tanner alone, for indeed it was not a poor bishopric; and two other English sees, Peterborough and Chester, were held by Piers and Gastrell. Tanner and Gastrell are both buried in the cathedral.

Bishop King's tomb of grey marble, with canopy over it supported by marble pillars, stood originally at the

upper end of the choir on the north side. When the new pavement of the choir was laid in Charles I.'s reign, and its walls were clothed with oak panelling, the monument was removed to a site a little to the east of its present position, under the curious window given by the sons of his great-nephew, in which the bishop is depicted in full episcopal vestments, with the ruins of Oseney Abbey in the background. The two shields in the upper part of this window display the arms of Oseney Abbey and of the convent of St. Frideswide respectively, each impaling King, and each in turn adopted for the arms of the see. This singularly interesting window was happily taken down in 1651, and safely preserved till the Restoration, when it was replaced by the family of the donors.

Of the long series of our Deans, only seven rest at Christ Church, viz.: Goodwin (1620), John Fell (1686), Aldrich (1711), Smalridge (1719), Gregory (1767), Gaisford (1855), and Liddell (1898); and the last died more than six years after his retirement. Goodwin's monument is attached to a pillar in the dormitory, as the chapel next the north choir aisle is named. The monuments of John Fell and Gaisford (the inscription on the latter written by Dr. Bull) are at the extreme west end of the church, right and left of the entrance door. Gregory has a simple marble gravestone, but no monument. Aldrich's monument with medallion portrait is on the south wall of the nave; Smalridge's, with an epitaph of inordinate length, vanished somehow in the last restoration in Liddell's time.

Many of the canons of the seventeenth century were buried here; among them, in 1632, Leonard Hutten the learned antiquarian, who has been so often mentioned.

His monument is a tablet in the western aisle of the north transept, with a series of brass scrolls inserted in the marble. Seven years after Hutten died Robert Burton, "Democritus junior, cui vitam dedit et mortem melancholia," whose monument is affixed to a pillar in the dormitory. He composed his own epitaph, and the calculation of his nativity which accompanies it. Burton, as has been mentioned, was originally a member of Brasenose College, but resided as a Student at Christ Church for most of his life. He was the giver of one of the Van Linge windows of Duppa's time.

During the civil war, while Oxford was occupied by the royalist forces, and the court resided at Christ Church, the cathedral served—as did also St. Mary's Church—as a resting place for many who died in the disastrous years 1643–6. Besides those who died from wounds received in battle, there were many who were fatally attacked by the sickness called the "camp disease" which raged in the over-crowded city. Even before the siege began, Sir Henry Gage, shot at Culham bridge, had been buried here. Among others interred within the church were three members of the ducal family of Lennox: George Stewart, Lord Aubigny, fatally wounded at Kineton; his two brothers, Lord George Stewart, who died of wounds received at Bramdean, and Lord Bernard Stewart, slain at a fight near Chester; also Sir William Pennyman, commander of the King's forces at Oxford, a victim of the fever; Viscount Grandison, who was mortally wounded at the siege of Bristol, but was brought to Oxford to die; Sir John Smith, who recovered the royal standard at Edgehill, and was afterward mortally wounded at Bramdean; Thomas and Henry Gardiner, the former of

whom had been knighted by the King as he sat at dinner, upon bringing the news of Prince Rupert's success at Newark; his brother Henry fell at Thame. Their father, Sir Thomas Gardiner, Recorder of London and his Majesty's solicitor, appears to have been buried near his two sons in 1652. They were a Cuddesdon family. Colonel Arthur Swayne rests here,

"slain by his boy, teaching him to use his arms. He bid his boy aim at him, thinking the gun had not been charged, which he did too well. . . . He was a lusty man and a good soldier."

Of civilians the death roll was also heavy. Sir Peter Wyche, privy councillor; Viscount Brouncker, gentleman of the privy chamber to the King and vice-chamberlain to the Prince of Wales; Sir John Burroughs and Sir Henry St. George, successively Garter Kings of Arms; Paul Pert, sergeant of the counting-house; Sir Anthony Browne, clerk controller; a yeoman of the wardrobe and a yeoman of the robes—these were among the victims of those perilous years. Such monuments of this period as survive are now grouped together in the south transept and St. Lucy's Chapel.

The monuments subsequent to the Restoration, with some exceptions which have been already noticed, are of no great public interest, though they recall the names of Canons and Students who, in their quiet, unobtrusive life of service and the generous gifts which they left to their House have been, in each generation, its true and most loyal benefactors. E. Pocock (1691) and E. B. Pusey (1882) are two famous names among our Hebrew professors; Peter Elmsley (1825) among our

scholars; and Thomas Lockey, canon and Bodleian librarian (1679), deserves to be mentioned for the quaint record on his monument, "cui post Romam bis aditam nec patria sua displicuit nec fides."

Upon a pillar on the north side of the nave is the monument of Bishop Berkeley. He had come to Oxford in broken health in the summer of 1752, though he still retained the bishopric of Cloyne, which George II. would not allow him to resign. His son had recently matriculated at Christ Church, where his old friend Conybeare was Dean, and had been placed under Markham as his college tutor. Bishop Berkeley had hoped to recruit his health in Oxford, and to spend a tranquil old age there, but within a few months after his arrival (on January 14, 1753), he died suddenly while at tea with his family at their house in Holywell. He was buried in Christ Church, and the well known inscription on his monument, which is from Markham's pen, is disfigured by a strange blunder. His birth is ante-dated by several years, the correct date being March 12, $168\frac{4}{5}$.

A brass plate on a pillar near the screen marks the accustomed seat of H. P. Liddon (1890). In the cloister are monuments to two officers killed in the Peninsular War, T. M. Jodrell, a Student who fell in the attack on Rosetta (1807) and a former Student, C. Taylor, who was killed at the head of his regiment at Vimiera (1808). There are also memorials of Osborne Gordon (1883) and George Marshall (1897) who died in the retirement of their country livings after long and faithful services rendered to their House as tutors and censors, services which never received any adequate recognition.

There is much modern glass in the church which has its own special interest for the artist and critic ; and the memorial windows tell their tale only too often of the premature deaths of young men of rare promise. The east window of the choir succeeds to the flaming French glass of the tercentenary window, which replaced a somewhat famous window given in 1696 by Dr. Birch, who had once been chaplain of Christ Church, and had been promoted to a canonry at Westminster. This window was designed by Sir J. Thornhill, and its principal subject, the Nativity in the Manger and the Heavenly Host, had been borrowed from one of Raphael's cartoons. But glass already existing in the church had been worked into the tracery. Ingram (*Memorials* i. 25) observes that

"the triple transposition of the cardinal's bend or legend 'dominus mihi adjutor' intermingled with the portraits of himself and his great co-founder, in the east window of the choir, is truly masonic and gratifying, though arranged as late as the year 1696."

Many Christ Church men of the older generation will remember the window well, better perhaps than they remember a charming account of it written, in Latin alcaics, by Peter Foulkes, a Westminster Student, and canon of the fourth stall 1724–47, who was a young man when the window was given. His verses will be found in *Musæ Anglicanæ*, vol. ii. He describes the subject of the window very minutely and in excellent Latinity, and then goes on to lament the ravages of the puritans, and to prophesy a better fate for the new gift of stained glass :

"Luporum inimica sacris
Gens, quæ nefastis ebria cladibus
Olim inquinatis polluit ignibus
Delubra, divinamque pompam
Impia diripuit, nec ipsis
Pepercit aris. Heu! Scelerum pudet!
Heu! Ne revertatur grave sæculum!
Nec fana rursus, nec fenestram
Caucasiæ hanc maculent volucres!
Tuque, O venusto munere nobilis
Scribêre, Birchi, tu memor atque amans
Parentis almæ, te reponet
Perpetuis domus illa fastis,
Dum scandet aras non tacitus chorus,
Cælique ritu lumina patrio
Spectabit Eoa, et refulgens
Suspiciet, tua dona, vitrum."

The window, it may be added, endured for a century and a half, not a bad lease of life.

The silver-gilt candlesticks and alms dish date from the Restoration, and are good examples of seventeenth century plate. The old altar books were given in 1638 by Henry King, canon of the eighth stall, afterwards Bishop of Chichester. They were preserved during the Commonwealth by R. Gardiner, who was dispossessed of his canonry in 1647, and were restored to the church by him on his return in 1660. On the fly-leaf of each book is a Latin inscription recording the facts.

Neither chapter house nor common room possesses any silver plate of ancient date or exceptional interest. Such store of silver as existed at the time of the civil

war was devoted to the King's cause, if not already seized by Lord Saye and Sele; and the tankards given from time to time by noblemen and gentlemen commoners have been regarded simply as so much metal, to be converted, when occasion required, into more serviceable articles, or even into hard cash.

CHAPTER XI

THE ATHLETIC RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH

Christ Church has always been an athletic college; it has never been exclusively athletic. It has seldom been without men of athletic distinction; it has rarely included instances of athletic specialism. Moreover—and in this perhaps it differs from some other Oxford colleges—it has always had men whose conceptions of physical recreation extended beyond the actual athletic pursuits of football, cricket and rowing. It has always had at least a few who hunted, and a pack of beagles has long been among its recognised institutions. It may be well to begin our brief survey of Christ Church athletics by some details of this peculiar and interesting element.

Oxford records were not well kept in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. But it appears that somewhere between 1830 and 1840 a drag was started and largely followed by those who rode horses; it was, however, a private club and came to an end some time after 1850. Between 1860 and 1872 a pack of harriers existed, with kennels at Garsington, but this ended in 1872. Two years later, in 1874, the present pack of beagles—consisting of about eighteen couples—was

founded, with the same kennels as those used by the harriers. The hounds were at first 13 inches, but their height was gradually increased to its present standard of $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The pack is well known as carefully bred, and often crowned at the Peterborough Show, but $13\frac{1}{2}$ couples were accidentally poisoned in February 1900, and a few years must elapse before the heavy loss can be repaired. This is the only permanent pack of beagles in Oxford. It has often been compared with the Trinity beagles at Cambridge, but these are open to subscribers from the whole University, while the Christ Church beagles are a college pack.

Of more definitely athletic exercises, rowing takes the first place. It is the oldest and the most elaborately organised. The exact origin of our races, like the exact origin of Oxford itself, is somewhat obscure. The eights can be traced back to 1817, and probably existed earlier, but at first only a few colleges took an active part. Among these colleges Christ Church was prominent. Its connexion with Eton and Westminster —the latter was then really a rowing school—brought it many trained oars, and it was head of the river thirteen times between 1817 and 1838. In 1823 it was a protest from Christ Church which stopped for ever the employment of professional watermen in these and similar races. In 1839 the Oxford University Boat Club was founded and rowing became popular throughout Oxford. The connexion of special schools and colleges began to become looser at the same time and the older Christ Church pre-eminence ceased. Since 1839 the House has only been head of the river four times—all in the decade 1839–49—though it has often been second or third or fourth. In the years 1856–9 it

put on a second eight, but the experiment was not successful. There is a tradition that in 1858 the second eight, an untrained crew of Eton and Westminster men stroked by the then Lord Skelmersdale, made six "bumps," and on the last night of the races caught the first Christ Church eight, but the printed records do not confirm the story. In the torpids, which first became serious races in 1852, Christ Church has never been higher than second, and often much lower. It appears that in 1854 the second Christ Church torpid really "bumped" the first on the last night of the races. In 1893–4 a third torpid was adventured, but though it gave much pleasure to various persons, its success was not sufficient to justify its continuance. At Henley a few successes have been gained. In 1837, when the Regatta commenced, the Christ Church eight, then head of the river, should have represented Oxford, but Dean Gaisford refused leave and the Queen's College eight was sent instead. In 1846 two Christ Church oars, Milman and Haggard, won the Pairs. In 1847 Christ Church won both the Visitors' and the Stewards' Cup, in 1848 the Ladies' Plate, and in 1851 the Visitors' Cup. Then after a long interval, in 1883, it won the Ladies' and the Visitors' Cup. To the University eight and the Trials, Christ Church has contributed a full supply of oarsmen. Five of its members, including Charles Wordsworth (afterwards Bishop of St. Andrews) and T. Stanniforth, took part in the first race against Cambridge in 1829, and Wordsworth played a prominent part in the institution of the contest. Since the inter-University races were definitely established in 1839, it has been unrepresented only seventeen times, and since the Trials were

instituted, in 1858, it has been there unrepresented only seven times. Lean years have been more frequent since 1875 than before it, but the figures as a whole show clearly the contribution of Christ Church to Oxford rowing. Names might be added: Stanniforth and Lowndes, Milman and Maryon Wilson, Senhouse and Tottenham, and many more, but the limits of a narrow volume demand the exclusion of personal detail. Two men of the present generation must, however, be recorded: the Rev. W. E. Sherwood, who rowed for the University in 1873–4 and is now, as treasurer to the O.U.B.C., a mainstay of Oxford rowing, and Mr. W. A. L. Fletcher (1890–3), perhaps the most stimulating and scientific "coach" and one of the finest oarsmen whom Oxford has ever produced.

We pass to cricket. Here again Christ Church was early prominent. The first match of Oxford against Cambridge, played in 1827, was mainly brought about by a member of the House, Charles Wordsworth, whom we have already mentioned as an oarsman, and till 1875 Christ Church was represented in every University eleven except that of 1849. It was especially vigorous in 1851–9 and 1863–8. In 1853, according to living memory, the number of Christ Church men in the University eleven was only half of what had been expected. A match followed between Christ Church and the University, and the latter was defeated by an innings. Since 1875 Christ Church has been only four times represented at Lords, though it has always possessed a strong College eleven and a number of players who, had there been such a thing, would have been included in a University second eleven. Several names deserve mention. W. Fellows, who played for the

University in 1854–7, is still remembered for his hitting powers. When batting in 1856 on the then Christ Church cricket ground, he is said to have made the biggest hit ever recorded in a first-class match. W. F. Maitland, who played for the University in 1864–7, was a prominent slow bowler of his day. Lord Harris (1871–4) needs no description to any cricketer. Lord George Scott (1887–9) made in 1887 the highest aggregate score achieved in any inter-University match, and though the last and most hesitatingly selected member of the team, was very largely the winner of the match.

The reputation of the Christ Church cricket ground demands a word of history, which illustrates very well the general growth of college cricket grounds in Oxford. Before 1851 matches were played by Christ Church, as by the University and all colleges, on Cowley marsh. In 1851 the House rented a ground opposite the Barges and close to the river, but this was given up the next year, owing (it is said) to the complaints of neighbours, who took the then unfamiliar cricketing costume to be a violent form of undress. The ground has recently become once more a cricket ground, that of Brasenose. Christ Church left it in 1852 and took a field on the west side of the Great Western Railway, a little north of the reservoir and close to the line; it was here that Mr. Fellows made his famous hit. After some years this ground was in turn given up; it is now used by some town clubs for cricket and football. In 1858 a movement was started to provide a better ground. A ten-acre field on the Iffley road, the property of the House, was levelled, equipped with a pavilion, and occupied in 1862. It is the present Christ Church cricket ground, the first of the great College

cricket grounds, and for many years the only one. Its merits have been tested and approved in many important matches which have been played on it. It has been freely lent to the University, and here, for instance, Oxford defeated the Australians in 1884. It occupies rather more than ten acres, and provides room for match pitches, practice wickets, lawn-tennis courts, and two football grounds.

Football is the youngest of our three chief games. For many years the football played in Oxford consisted of school games—Winchester, Eton, Harrow, Rugby, or other—played simply for amusement. The establishment of the Rugby Union and Association games drove out these school games, except the Eton field game, still played regularly in the Parks. In 1872 and 1874 respectively the Rugby and Association football matches against Cambridge were instituted; in 1883 the system of Association football cup ties played between the colleges was begun, and the number of men interested in one or the other form of football has rapidly increased. There has been, however, a tendency for only one or the other form of football to flourish at one time in any one college. If a college is (as the man in the street says) "good at Association," its Rugby team is usually weak, and if its Rugby team is good, it usually can boast of few good Association players. At Christ Church good Association players have abounded and good Rugby players have been few. The House has been represented in the University Rugby team only in 1873–4 and 1883, and its college Rugby team has seldom been strong. On the other hand its connexion with Westminster and (to some extent) with Shrewsbury has brought to it many good Association

players. Only four years have passed without its being represented, and well represented, in the University Association team. It won the College Cup in 1890 and 1891, and in most other years its eleven has been one of the better teams entered for the Cup. Of its many good players, from Vidal and Rawson onwards, the best known is probably W. J. Oakley, who played for his College and for his University in 1893–6 and achieved a wider reputation in international matches. If it were well to laud individuals, a long list besides might be quoted of men whose names are in the University records.

Athletic sports, strictly so-called, are somewhat older than football, but less popular and universal, and in general less characteristic of a college. Let it suffice to say that, like some other large colleges, Christ Church has usually provided one or two members of the team which competes against Cambridge, though the actual list of winners in the inter-University sports contains few Christ Church names. This, indeed, is characteristic of the House throughout its athletic record, of which we here reach the conclusion. It does not boast to have numbered many of the sensational "heroes" of any particular game, but average first-rate excellence has been common enough among its undergraduates. And perhaps this may seem in itself no small boast and no small merit.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A.—THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS AND BADGES OF HONOUR ASSUMED BY CARDINAL WOLSEY.

The frequent recurrence, in the buildings of Christ Church, of some one or other of Wolsey's many heraldic emblems, makes it advisable to treat of them at greater length than is convenient in a note.

First.—The heralds' office made a grant of arms to Cardinal College on August 4, 1525. The blazoning will be found in Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey, Collections,* p. 230. It is as follows:

Azure, on a cross engrailed argent a lion passant purpure between four leopards' heads of the field. First quarter, a griffin passant holding in its right foot a pillar or; second quarter, an open book argent, writing sable, border gules with clasps. On a chief or a cardinal's hat gules between a torteau and a hurte. On the torteau two crosses saltire of the chief, a key in pale argent, in the middle of which a crown or. On the hurte a lion rampant argent gorged with crown or, and a saltire of the same.

This complicated and fanciful shield is nowhere to be found on the buildings, or elsewhere, in Christ Church. A sketch of it, with proper tinctures, has recently been placed in a case in the library.

Secondly.—The arms of the Cardinal himself, which have been adopted as the arms of Christ Church, are :

Sable, on a cross engrailed argent a lion passant gules between four leopards' heads azure, on a chief or a rose of the third seeded of the fifth barbed vert between two Cornish choughs proper.

On the seal of Cardinal College these arms appear with griffins bearing pillars as supporters. In Wolsey's illuminated service book, preserved in the library, and sometimes in the spandrils of the College doorways, two boys or angels are found as supporters. The motto is "Dominus mihi adjutor." The Cardinal's crest is a leopard's face azure set in a ducal crown or.

This shield appears continually in Christ Church, either alone or impaled with the arms of one or other of the sees which Wolsey held.

Thirdly.—Several devices or badges of honour were displayed by Wolsey. They are (1) two pillars saltire argent ; (2) two maces saltire argent ; (3) two poleaxes saltire argent ; (4) two pastoral staves saltire argent.

These badges are usually, but not always, surmounted by a crosier. To these should be added the Cardinal's hat, which is a frequent ornament. It is found sometimes placed alone, at other times it ensigns Wolsey's shield. The number of tassels varies.

The two pillars are said to have represented his authority (1) as Cardinal, (2) as legate *a latere ;* the maces either represented the same double authority or were carried before him as archbishop ; the pastoral staves no doubt represented his archiepiscopal authority.

Cavendish, writing with the authority of one of his gentlemen ushers, speaks of "two great crosses of silver, whereof one of them was for his archbishoprick, and the

other for his legacy, borne always before him whithersoever he went or rode, by two of the most tallest and comeliest priests that he could get within all this realm."

Wolsey was noted for his pride, "a man of an unbounded stomach," and was careful to surround himself with all the outward marks of his high estate. Cavendish has described the customary procession, when he went from York House to Westminster Hall—the great seal carried before him and then the Cardinal's hat—then came the Cardinal himself, "passing forth with two great crosses of silver borne before him, and also two great pillars of silver, and his pursuivant at arms with a great mace of silver gilt. Then his gentlemen ushers cried and said, 'On, my lords and masters, on before; make way for my Lord's grace.' Thus passed he down from his chamber through the hall; and when he came to the hall door, there was attendant for him his mule, trapped all together in crimson velvet and gilt stirrups. When he was mounted, with his cross bearers and pillar bearers, also upon great horses trapped with fine scarlet, then marched he forward, with his train and furniture, in manner as I have declared, having about him four footmen with gilt poleaxes in their hands; and thus he went until he came to Westminster Hall door."

This description of his pomp is confirmed by another contemporary, John Skelton, the Poet Laureate, who was an enemy of Wolsey's, and is indeed said to have died in the sanctuary at Westminster while in refuge there to protect himself from the Cardinal's arm:

"With worldly pompe again incredible,
Before him rydeth two prestes stronge,
And they bear two crosses right longe
Gapying in every man's face.
After them follow two laye men secular,
And each of them holding a pillar
In their hands, steade of a mace.

"Then followeth my Lorde on his mule
Trapped with gold under her cule,
In every poynts most curiously:
On each syde a poll axe is borne
Which in none wothers use are worne,
Portendynge some hyd mystery.
Then hath he servants five or six score
Some behind and some before."

Wolsey was never popular; the general belief in his low extraction made his assumption of almost royal state all the more distasteful. Buckingham calls him "this butcher's cur," and the alliterative lines,

"Begot by butchers but by bishops * bred,
How high his Honour holds his haughty head,"

though of later date, illustrate a wide-spread feeling.

Fuller declares that to humble his pride some one set up on a window of Cardinal College a painted mastiff dog gnawing the spade bone of a shoulder of mutton, to remind him of his extraction as the son of a butcher; and Fiddes, writing in George I.'s reign, asserts that above one of the windows in the front of Christ Church, directly over the Cardinal's arms, there was then existing a dog gnawing a bone; but he adds that it was one of many "anticks" there placed simply for decoration.

The family of Wolsey of Cottingham bore the Wolsey shield with crest "a naked arm embowed grasping a shin bone all proper."

A very bitter attack on Wolsey was made in a contemporary poem—first published at Strassburg in 1528—written by William Roy and Jerome Barlow, observant Friars of the Franciscan order, belonging to the monastery of Greenwich. These men had joined the Reformers, and

* There is a v. l. "beggars," which is explained as referring to Wolsey's intimacy, when a boy, with the Franciscan Friars in the neighbourhood of Ipswich.

Roy had assisted Tyndale in translating the New Testament.

On the title page, which is headed with the lines

> " Rede me and be nott wrothe,
> For I saye no thynge but trothe,"

there is figured an imaginary coat of arms designed for Wolsey. It is thus described :—

> " Of the prowde Cardinall this is the shelde
> Borne up betwene two angels off Sathan,
> The sixe blouddy axes in a bare felde
> Sheweth the cruelte of the red man.
> * * * * *
> The sixe bulles heddes in a felde blacke
> Betokeneth hys stordy furiousnes
> * * * * *
> The bandog in the middes doth expresse
> The mastif Curre bred in Ypswitch towne
> Gnawynge with his teth a kynges crowne.
> The clubbe signifieth playne hys tiranny
> Covered over with a Cardinal's hatt.

The shield is printed in black, white, and red. The griffins (or " angels off Sathan "), the club, and Cardinal's hat are red, and red drops of blood fall from the axe heads. The shield is quarterly ; first and fourth, three bulls' heads on a black field ; second and third, three axe heads on a white field. The bandog gnawing a crown is on an escutcheon of pretence.*

In an article entitled " The Resurrection of Heraldry " (*Nineteenth Century*, June 1896), Mr. Everard Green, *Rouge Dragon*, offers an interpretation of Wolsey's "cumbersome" shield. The sable field and cross engrailed come from the Uffords, Earls of Suffolk ; the azure leopards' faces from the De la Poles, Earls of Suffolk ; the county of Wolsey's birth is thus denoted : the lion is the badge of Leo X., to

* See Arber's *English Reprints*, vol. vi.

whom Wolsey owed his Cardinal's hat; the Lancastrian rose indicates his political sympathies; and in the choughs may be traced the reputed or assigned arms of St. Thomas of Canterbury (argent three choughs proper), from whom his Christian name was derived.

With regard to the portraits of Wolsey, Granger writes:

"There is no head of Wolsey which is not in profile. That which is carved in wood, in the central board of the gateway which leads to the butchery of Ipswich, has such an appearance of antiquity that it is supposed to have been done when he was living: by the side of it is a butcher's knife. It is said that his portraits were done in profile, because he had but one eye."

Certainly the Holbein portraits and all the engravings in the Hope collection are in profile. The left side of the face is shown in the oil paintings, though in the engravings the reverse is often found. But in a volume of drawings, ascribed to one Jacques Le Boucq, in the town library of Arras, is a head of Wolsey *full face*, with the inscription at the foot "Thomas Wolsey, Cardinal de York, autheur du schisme." A platinotype copy of the photograph of this interesting drawing, given to the Governing Body of Christ Church by Mr. Lionel Cust, may be seen in the Common Room.

APPENDIX B.—THE FOUNDATION OF CHRIST CHURCH.

THERE is no difficulty in determining the actual constitution of the foundation of Christ Church, for the lists of its members exist from January 1547, and almost exactly correspond with the account given by Leonard Hutten, which is as follows:

"Decano autem et præbendariis quorum fidei omnes hujus ecclesiæ terras et possessiones commisit Rex mandavit ut tres publicos professores theologiæ, linguarum Hebraicæ et Græcæ, centum studiosos, theologos et artistas sive philosophos, octo capellanos presbyteros cantores, octo laicos cantores et octo choristas, assignatis suis cuique salariis et portionibus, in perpetuum alerent et nutrirent. Nam de servis et publicis societatis ministris, qui sunt numero viginti quatuor, et de totidem pauperibus eleemosynariis, nihil attinet ut hic aliquid dicamus."

This statement is quite clear, and is consistent with the known facts, except that Hutten does not give the name "discipuli" to any of the hundred Students; but on referring to the existing documents relating to the creation of the foundation some difficulty arises.

These documents are three in number.

1. A memorandum in English, dated October 1, 1546, that is to say, just five weeks before the issue of the letters patent under which the foundation was created. The transcript of this document in the Christ Church treasury is called "copy of record of late Court of Augmentations."

2. Letters patent or charter of foundation, dated November 4, 1546.

3. Letters patent, dated December 11, 1546, containing a full list of the lands and other property thereby granted to the newly created foundation.

In neither of these last two instruments is there any reference to covenants under which the property was to be held by the Dean and Chapter thus created and endowed, though in the charter of November 4, 1546, it is more than once implied that a body of students and other persons will be included in the foundation.

But in the earlier document of October 1, 1546, there is

not only a complete list of the lands and possessions "assygned by the Kyng's Majestie unto this His Highnes' newe erected Cathedrall Church in Oxford," but also certain covenants are set forth, which are to be binding upon the holders of the property; among them are, that the Dean and prebendaries shall find eight petty canons with a stipend of £10 each, one gospeller (£8), one pistoler (£6 13*s.* 4*d.*), eight clerks (£6 13*s.* 4*d.*), one master of the choristers (£13 6*s.* 8*d.*), one organist (£10), eight choristers (the finding of every one of them), and two sextons.

Besides these officers of the church there were to be three common readers appointed by the King, in Divinity, Hebrew, and Greek, to be paid £40 each; also sixty scholars or students (£8 each); also one schoolmaster (£20), one usher (£10), forty children (allowing yearly for the finding of every one of them), and twenty-four poor men named by the King (£6 each).

This list differs, as will be noticed, from the arrangement as actually carried out. There was never either schoolmaster or usher, and the forty "children" whom they were to teach became, under the title of "discipuli," the last forty of the hundred students who were appointed when the College first started on its life. Wood had access to this document, and apparently to this alone, and reproduced it in his account of Christ Church; and he states that the students were sixty in number, and that the forty "children" did exist, and he even mentions the building, on the north side of the College, in which they were taught by their masters. Wood's words are:

"Which allowance for a schoolmaster, usher, and children, who did teach and were taught in the old building, standing near the gardens, beyond the north side of the great quadrangle, Queen Elizabeth in the beginning

of her reign converted for the maintenance of forty students more, making thereby the number to be an hundred; and instead of this supply of students for the College out of this school, she caused it to be made in the year 1561 from the school of Westminster, of her father's foundation, which so continues to this day."

This paragraph is strangely at variance with the facts.

Probably the explanation of the matter is to be found in the fact that statutes under which his new foundation was to be governed were promised by the King, but owing to his death on January 28, 1547, were not forthcoming. Meanwhile the new foundation had been put into possession of its endowments and had started on its life; and the earliest buttery book shows that on January 14, 1547—a fortnight before Henry's death—its places were filled up, generally in accordance with the memorandum of October 1, 1546, but with certain alterations; the chief modification being that no schoolmaster or usher was appointed, and that one hundred instead of sixty Students were created, divided into twenty theologi, forty philosophi, and forty discipuli, the latter representing the forty children mentioned in the earlier document.

The memorandum of October 1 had in fact no legal value. It was simply a sketch of a projected constitution, drawn up five weeks before the issue of the actual charter.* It has however acquired undeserved importance from having been adopted by Wood as an authentic account of the original foundation; for his words have been often quoted as possessing unquestioned authority. When the

* The original document—to which no date or title is now attached—is preserved at the Public Record Office (Augmentation Office, Particulars for Grants, No. 827). The particulars are in many instances cancelled or altered.

Cathedral Commission asked for information about the foundation of Christ Church, Dean Gaisford referred them to Wood's pages; and in the account of Christ Church, presumably written by H. G. Liddell, which appears in the Report of the first University Commission, the same untrustworthy source is drawn from, and the same inaccurate particulars are given.

It is interesting to add that in 1737 a chaplain of Christ Church, Mr. Lamprey, who had been deprived of his chaplaincy by Dean Conybeare on the ground of being a married man, appealed to the visitor, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke. The document of October 1, 1546, was produced by his counsel as evidence of his legal position, but the Chancellor allowed no weight to it. "The memorandum produced by Mr. Lamprey's counsel," he said, "and which they have treated as covenants, mentions indeed eight petty canons. But it doth not appear by anything that has been laid before me that these projected covenants were ever carried into execution; and it hath not been showed that the chaplains ever received the specified sum mentioned in this paper." He adds that there is a real distinction between petty canons and chaplains; the former being a class of ministers pertaining to a cathedral church, the latter part of a collegiate foundation.

It was also clearly laid down by Lord Hardwicke, as well as by Lord Camden on a later appeal to the visitor, that Christ Church, having never received statutes from the Crown, was wholly governed by usage. The regulations made from time to time by the Dean and Chapter, and uninterruptedly observed, acquired a binding force. It was by usage that the twenty theologi were bound to be in priests' orders, and that Students or chaplains forfeited their positions on marriage. When Mr. Lamprey's counsel urged that if chaplains might not marry no

more might canons, and that if a canon might marry, so might a chaplain, they were answered at once by reference to usage. It had always been customary for canons to marry; marriage of chaplains was against the usage of the House.

The double character of the foundation of Christ Church has often caused perplexity. It has been narrated (p. 93) that when the university authorities, in Dean John Fell's time, protested against the obligation of coming to Christ Church to hear the sermons of the canons when they preached in their turn as doctors, the Dean and Chapter stated that the custom of having university sermons at Christ Church had arisen from the fact that in olden days, "*according to the manner of all other cathedrals,*" there had been regular preaching in their church, to which people generally had resorted. They thus laid weight upon the fact that they formed a cathedral body, and had duly to discharge the usual duties of a cathedral staff. But a long while afterwards when (in November 1852) the Cathedral Commission was appointed, the Dean and Chapter insisted that the peculiar character of their society withdrew it altogether from the scope of the inquiry entrusted to the commissioners, and it was deemed necessary to issue a supplemental commission on August 6, 1853, stating that "doubts had arisen whether the Cathedral Church of Christ in Oxford is comprehended by the said commission by reason of the same church being also the church of the College of Christ Church in the University of Oxford, and the Dean and canons of the same church being the governing body of the same College and having various duties and revenues unconnected with the diocese of Oxford." The commissioners were expressly empowered "to inquire into the state and condition of the said cathedral church, with the view and for the purposes in our said commission

mentioned," but were enjoined to "have due regard to the connexion of the said cathedral church with the said College."

In a communication to the commissioners in November 1853, the Dean and Chapter endeavoured to clear up the misconception which appeared to exist on this latter point:

"There is absolutely no separation between them, as if they were two distinct members in one and the same body. Neither is the Chapter an appendage to the College, nor is the College an appendage to the Chapter. They form one single foundation under one head, and so intimately blended together are they in all their parts, that questions involving the constitution of the one cannot be answered without including what belongs to the other.

"They have never had any other *diocesan* character than what resulted from the one single function imposed upon them of electing the Bishop of Oxford: all their other functions are purely collegiate and academical. . . . The church of St. Frideswide, inclosed within the college gates, and fitted up for the purpose by Cardinal Wolsey, is only in fact a college chapel."

They urge that not only was Christ Church originally founded as an academical college, but it had been always dealt with as such by the Crown and the legislature. "It has ever since its foundation continued to be an integral member of the University in which it is situate, amenable to the same laws, regulations, and discipline as the other collegiate societies, and enjoying the same academical privileges."

It is further pointed out that there are no fixed terms of residence for the canons, for there are no statutes to regulate it; that the Dean and canons take their preaching turns

according to the academical cycle; and that, with the exception of these sermons, and the sermons at the bishop's ordination and on Easter day, no sermon is preached in Christ Church.

In answer to a later communication from the commissioners, the Dean and Chapter point out that although the election of a bishop is necessarily one of their duties, they are in a different position with regard to him from that which obtains in the other cathedral churches founded at the same time. The bishops of those other sees stand to their several chapters in the relation of visitor: but the Sovereign is the visitor of Christ Church. Elsewhere, too, the capitular functions are *diocesan:* at Christ Church, with the single exception just mentioned, they are *academical.* They then compare the charter of 1542, by which the see of Oxford was founded at Oseney Abbey, with the charter of 1546. By the first, the episcopal and Ordinary jurisdiction extended over the cathedral church at Oseney as well as over the diocese; by the charter of 1546 it extends over the diocese only, the words "infra prædictam ecclesiam cathedralem Oxoniæ" being inserted in the former and omitted in the latter.

Moreover, the terms of *the grant* by which the Dean and canons of Christ Church are appointed and *the mandate* by which they are installed are of an exceptional character. "In all other cathedral chapters the royal grants were presented to the bishop of the diocese, who thereupon instituted the grantee, and issued *his* mandate for the installation; at Christ Church, on the contrary, the grants were not presented to the bishop, no institution took place, and the mandate came direct from the Crown: and such has ever been the tenor of these instruments; they are precisely now what they were originally."

These peculiar characteristics of Henry VIII.'s foundation justify the claim of the Dean to the exercise of the

authority of Ordinary within his church, a claim confirmed by uninterrupted usage. When however changes in the *College* prayers have been effected it has been customary to obtain the sanction of the visitor.

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